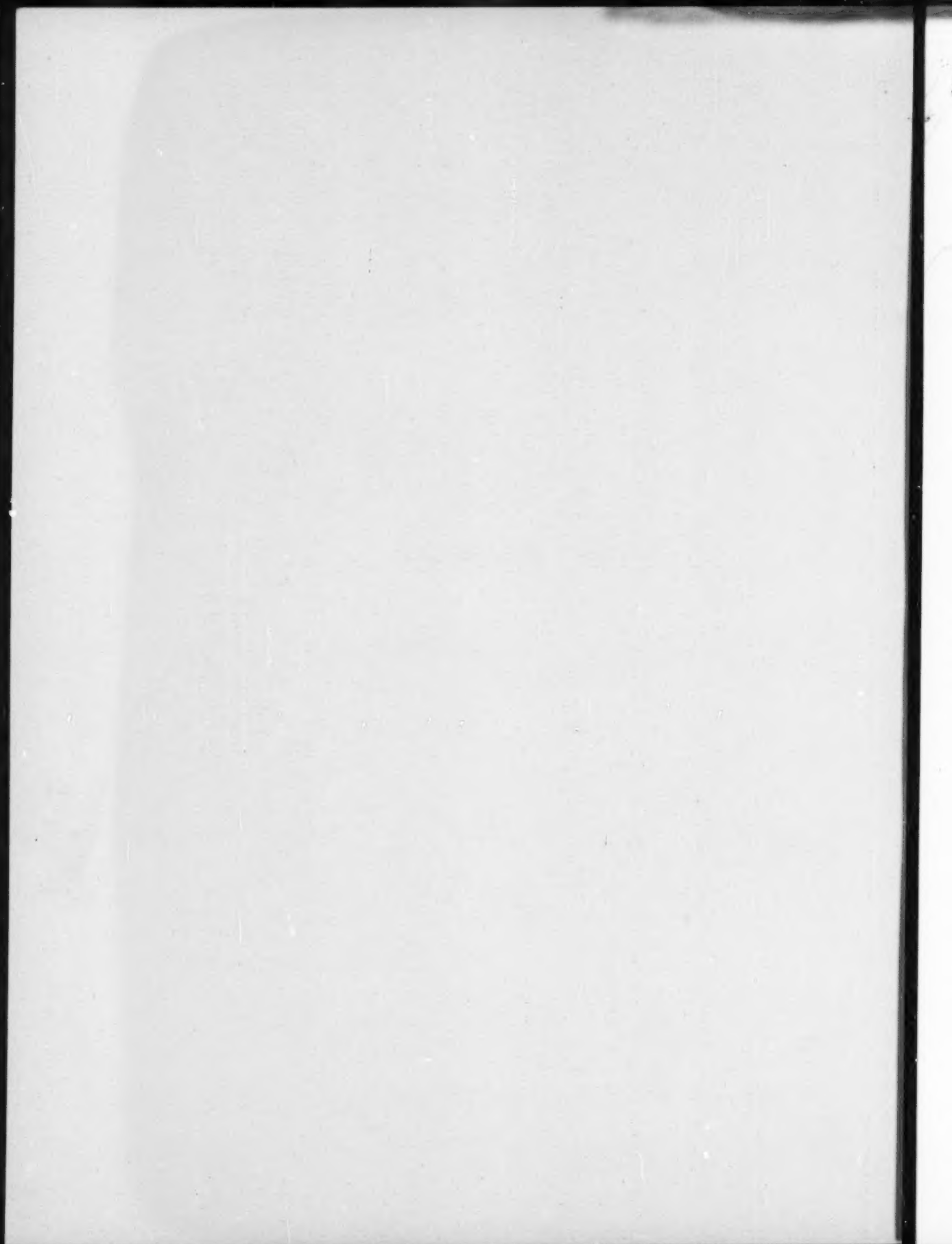


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SPRING 1953

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The ART Quarterly

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PAUL L. GRIGAUT, Associate Editor

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THE ART QUARTERLY

SPRING, 1953



Fig. 1. GIAN LORENZO BERNINI, Triton Fountain with a Shell (bozzetto)
Detroit Institute of Arts

TWO BOZZETTI BY GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

By E. P. RICHARDSON

OUTSIDE of Italy Gian Lorenzo Bernini is one of the rarest of all artists, since his life work was Rome itself and is built into its churches and squares, fountains and sculptured monuments.

In 1917 there appeared in Vienna, in the sale of the Austrian painter Amerling, two terracotta sculptures, called simply Italian seventeenth century. Their notable quality was recognized both by the director of a German museum and a Viennese collector, Rudolf Berl, who was a pioneer in the taste for baroque sculptor's sketches. These two bid against each other and Berl won.¹ Published as Bernini's work by A. S. Brinckmann, first in *Bolletino d'arte* and later in the second volume of his *Barock-Bozzetti*,² they became famous; when shown at the exhibition of *Late Renaissance and Baroque bozzetti and modelletti* in Vienna in 1936, they were counted the outstanding pieces.³ They have now been acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts from the Ralph H. Booth Fund.⁴

The two fountain sketches from the Berl collection, *Triton Fountain with a Shell* (Figs. 1, 3) and *Triton Fountain with a Sea Serpent* (Figs. 2, 4), are identical in height. In material both are of a warm pinkish-brown terracotta of very fine grain. The animal parts and naturalistic rocks are finished with broad strokes of the ripping-chisel but the human bodies are smoothed with the fingers. The miraculous energy, knowledge and ease of the modeling is only partially seen in photographs. These *bozzetti* are little masterpieces of Bernini's sparkling vitality and that peculiar quality of his work I can only describe as exhilaration. Whatever his subject Bernini always seems to work at the full tide of high spirits, energies and inspiration. It was not for him ever to squeeze out thin, anemic works or labored constructions. His work is like Niagara moving over the crest, unflagging and irresistible.

And yet these two jewels of baroque high spirits, for all their fame, pose a very puzzling problem. For what fountain are they sketches?

Brinckmann dates them in the 1650's, I believe quite correctly. They are closely related in style to the *bozzetti* of the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* preserved in the Museo Marciano, Venice (at the beginning of the fifties) and to the marble *Daniel* in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (at the end of the decade)

and seem to fall well into the time bracket between these two. Thus they belong to the time just after Bernini retrieved his personal fortunes by his brilliant invention of a new type of fountain design, which was to become what we think of as the "fountains of Rome" par excellence.

After the death of Bernini's first great patron, Pope Urban VIII (Barberini) in 1644, the next Pope, Innocent X (Pamphili), turned violently against the Barberini and all their party. Bernini was included in the general disgrace. The succeeding years saw the triumph of all his rivals and were the bitterest period of Bernini's life. In 1647 an antique obelisk was dug out of the Circus of Maxentius and set up in the center of the Piazza Navona,⁶ on which stood the Pamphili family palace. Innocent X at first planned to combine it with a fountain by Borromini. But his masterful sister Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, having first given him a very good lunch at her palace, led him into a room where stood Bernini's *bozzetto* for a fountain around the base of the obelisk. The Pope was delighted with it. His pleasure led him not only to give Bernini the commission for the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* (1647-1652) but to restore the sculptor to papal favor. The Pope's admiration and surprise was justified, for Bernini had imagined a new type of fountain design whose endless possibilities are still being explored today. In earlier fountains either the water moved and the sculpture was still, or vice versa. To replace the earlier architectonic designs of vertical jets of water, smooth horizontal pools and sculpture held firmly within architectural frames, Bernini created a free organic interplay of the movements of sculpture and water, which was one of the most beautiful inventions of his century.

Brinckmann believed that our two *bozzetti* were stages in the design of the second fountain Bernini did in this new mode. There was already at the southern end of the Piazza Navona before the Pamphili family palace a fountain of late Renaissance type, dating from about 1590, consisting of four tritons and four masks spouting water (copies of which are still there) and a shell.⁶ This was now so belittled by the gigantic, dramatic work just erected in the center of the Piazza that it would no longer do and Bernini was commissioned by the Pope in May, 1653, to do something more magnificent.⁷ In June of that year the Pope gave the existing shell to Donna Olimpia and in September, 1654, a sum of money was ordered paid for work on the new fountain "secondo il disegno fattone dal Cavalier Bernini."⁸

Brinckmann believed that our *Triton with a Shell* was Bernini's first idea for a new central figure, in which he played with the idea of re-using the old



Fig. 2. GIAN LORENZO BERNINI, Triton Fountain with a Sea Serpent (bozzetto)
Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 3. Front view of Figure 1



Fig. 4. Rear view of Figure 2

shell. This was abandoned for the much easier and less cumbersome second stage of the *Triton with the Sea Serpent*. He also published a terracotta head, in the same scale as these, which he believed to be Bernini's study for the negroid features that gave the completed figure its popular name *Il Moro*.⁹

The stone figure of *Il Moro* (Fig. 5), executed by Bernini's assistant Gianantonio Mari, however, differs greatly from the two *bozzetti*. The *bozzetti* are seated tritons whose bodies turn below the waist into scaly, writhing fish-limbs. They sit like racing riders on the backs of their dolphin mounts, which go rushing, open-mouthed and glaring-eyed, through foam and waves. How different is *Il Moro*! He is a heroic male Water God, standing with his two feet planted on a rock carved like a bit of Mother Earth. Poised in this firm stance he swings his powerful body like an athlete about to throw the hammer, but instead of a prosaic piece of modern athletic equipment, his hands grasp an astonished fish by tail and fins—a fish whose face and popping eyes peer from between the Water God's brawny thighs, discharging from open mouth a cascade of water that falls musically into the pool below. The whole absurd, delightful business is an example of Bernini's supreme powers of fantasy.

Is the difference between sketches and existing fountain an example of Bernini's exuberance of invention, which always played with and improved an idea between *bozzetto* and completed work? This was Brinckmann's theory. One could imagine Bernini deciding that a seated triton would not rise high enough in the Square, and substituting the standing Water God.

Yet the differences are so great that in spite of the authority which attaches to Brinckmann's opinions, one must consider if these are not sketches for another fountain, since destroyed, or ideas never executed.

Among Bernini's lost works are two fountains of unknown date that were once in the gardens of the Villa Mattei (the modern Villa Celimontana) on the Caelian Hill. One was a fantastic construction in the rustic mode, called the *Fontana dell' Aquila*, which bore no relation to ours. The other was a *Triton Fountain*. Now destroyed, they are known only from engravings by Giovanni Francesco Venturini, at the end of the seventeenth century (Fig. 6).¹⁰ The *Fontana del Tritone* consisted of a seated triton who blew a jet of water up through his seashell horn as he rode gaily on a mount of three fantastic sea creatures. He resembles the Barberini *Triton* (1644) but seems to twist his strong body a little more exuberantly—seems, so far as I can read the engraving, a little freer and more advanced in style than the Barberini *Triton*. Our *bozzetti* suggest him quite as much as they resemble *Il Moro*.

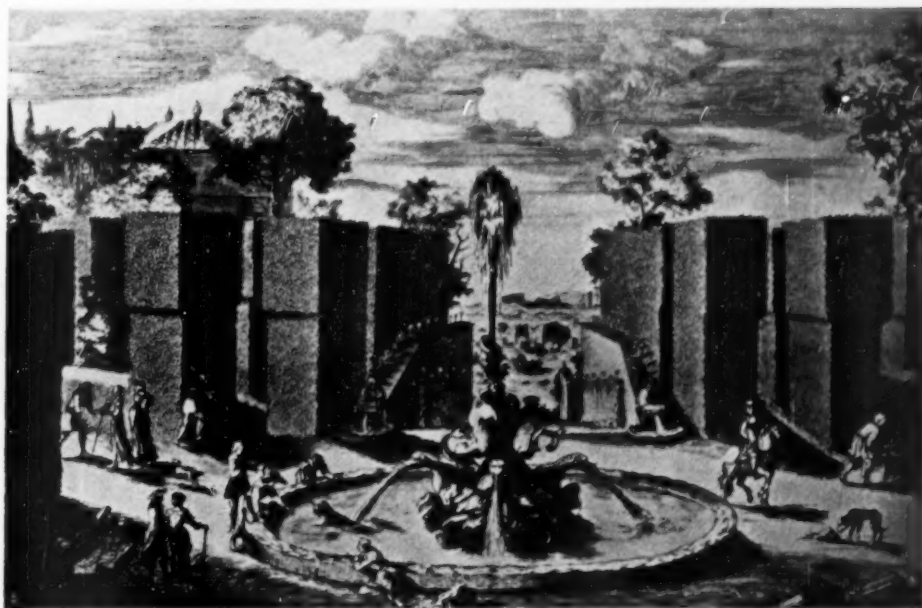
Voss, in his study of Bernini's fountains, dates the Villa Mattei fountains very early in Bernini's work—about 1628—in which he is followed by Bertha Wiles.¹¹ So far as I know, there is no documentary evidence for such an early date. The movement of the triton suggests a later dating to me: a connection with our *bozzetti* is certainly not beyond conjecture.

But Bernini's imagination teemed with fountain projects in the years after the *Fountain of the Four Rivers*. The possible variations of the interplay of moving figures against moving water evidently fascinated his imagination, as indeed they did whole generations of sculptors after. He played with them in many drawings. One idea was simply the reverse of ours—the dolphin on top, held wriggling on the shoulders of a river god who is perched on fantastic rocks (black chalk drawing in the collection of the Marquis de Talleyrand; workshop copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. CAI 416).¹² Another idea was to use two intertwined tritons to support four intertwined dolphins (the brilliant drawing at Windsor, no. 5623,¹³ and a terracotta *bozzetto* of the two *Tritons*, once, at least, in Berlin).¹⁴ There are at least five other drawings of fountains attributed to Bernini in Leipsig, Berlin and the Victoria and Albert, referred to by Wittkower and Voss.¹⁵ Finally, there was a grandiose idea of *Neptune and Amphitrite*, and two great scallop shells, all supported by hippocamps, which is preserved in three drawings at Windsor (no. 5624, recto; 5624, verso; 5627).¹⁶ A *bozzetto* of a *Triton and Sea Horse* (which I have never seen) in Seattle has also been attributed to Bernini, in this magazine, and related to the designs for the *Fontana di Trevi*.¹⁷

These multiplying fancies show how rich Bernini was in ideas for the new mode of fountain design he had discovered. It may be that the relation of the Detroit *bozzetti* to the *Fontana del Moro*, or to the lost *Fontana del Tritone* of the Villa Mattei, or to another unexecuted project, must always be a moot question. There are, however, two things of which we can be sure: that they belong to the full tide of his work in the High Baroque of the sixteen-fifties; and that they show Bernini's inventive fire and genius with extreme clarity and freshness.



*Fig. 5. GIANANTONIO MARI, Il Moro
(from design by Bernini) Rome, Piazza Navona*



*Fig. 6. Triton Fountain. Engraving by G. F. Venturini, "Le Fontane di Roma . . .," 1691,
of fountain by Bernini formerly in the Villa Mattei, Rome*

- ¹ L. Froelich-Bume, "Bozzetti and Modelletti of the late Renaissance and the Baroque," *Burlington Magazine*, LXX (March, 1937), 14-15.
- ² A. E. Brinckmann, *Bolletino d'arte*, XVII (1924), 492-93, and *Barock-Bozzetti*, 1924, II, 491-5, pls. 25, 26, 27.
- ³ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Bozzetti und Modelletti der Spätrenaissance und des Barock*, 1936-37, nos. 3 & 4; see also L. Froelich-Bume, *loc. cit.*, and Wolfgang Born, "Bozzetti and Modelletti," *Connoisseur*, XCIX (April, 1937), 191-2, figs. I & III.
- ⁴ Terracotta statuettes; H. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; gift of the Ralph H. Booth Fund, 1952. Acc. no. 52.219 & 52.218.
- ⁵ A drawing by Claude Lorrain, just acquired by the British Museum, shows the obelisk erected on its crude stone base.
- ⁶ Arduino Colasanti, *Le Fontane d'Italia*, 1926, pls. 218, 219.
- ⁷ Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti*, II, 53.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*; Stanislao Frascchetti, *Il Bernini*, 1900, gives the documents. The great polygonal basin is also of Bernini's design, according to G. Delogu, *La Scultura italiana del seicento e del settecento*, 1932, I, 39.
- ⁹ Brinckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- ¹⁰ These two engravings by Giovanni Francesco Venturini are part of a series of engravings of Roman fountains begun by Giovanni Battista Falda and continued by Venturini, issued as *Le Fontane di Roma nelle piazze e luoghi pubblici . . . 1691*. They are reproduced by Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pls. 220 & 221.
- ¹¹ H. Voss, "Bernini's Fontänen," *Jahrbuch d. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXI (1910), 99-129; Bertha H. Wiles, *Fountains of Florentine Sculptors*, 1933, p. 102.
- ¹² H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 1931, p. 53 and pls. 34 & 159.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 53 and pl. 53.
- ¹⁴ Voss, *loc. cit.*, p. 107; Schottmüller, *Die italienisches und spanisches Bildwerke Kgl. Museum zu Berlin*, 1913, no. 432; Brinckmann, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 41.
- ¹⁵ Brauer and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 2; and Voss, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- ¹⁶ Brauer and Wittkower, pp. 53-54 and pls. 36, 37, 38.
- ¹⁷ Sherman E. Lee, *The Art Quarterly*, XIV (1951), 66-71.

THE FOUR BEASTS: DIRECTIONAL SYMBOLISM IN CEYLON

By BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

WE are all aware that many problems iconographical and stylistic in Oriental art can only be solved by what might be called an intuitive comparison of similar concepts, at first seeming unrelated, in separated monuments and texts of Far Eastern origin. One such problem, which seems of great import for our understanding of early Buddhist architecture and sculpture, is that of the projecting frontispieces, called *wābalkadas* or *āyakas*, which are inevitable features of the great stupas in Ceylon (Fig. 3) and at Amarāvati on the Kistna River, capital of the Andhra Empire from A.D. 150 to 350. Closely related to this problem is that of the animals of the four quarters which, as recent excavations have shown, are found in association with these structures in Ceylon.

The *wābalkadas*—to use a Singhalese term meaning "entrance"—are large, rectangular projections, some more than fifteen feet high, which are located at the four points of the compass around the bases of the stupas at Anurādhapura and Mihintale. Although many of these stupas or *dāgobas* were founded as early as the third century B.C., their outer decoration and the *wābalkadas* were added at some time from the second to the eighth century A.D. when Anurādhapura was the capital of Ceylon. The *wābalkadas* were made of a brick core, faced with stone, separated by regular string courses, supported by figures of elephants and lions. Their shape and position recall the *āyaka* platforms at Amarāvati, which differed only in being covered with elaborately carved limestone slabs and surmounted by five octagonal pillars (Fig. 2).¹ At Anurādhapura stone flower altars were erected in front of the *wābalkadas* at a later period, additions that confirm their original importance as the principal centers of devotion at the stupa. The enshrining of relics, often those of pious Buddhist nobles, in the *wābalkadas* only enhanced their importance and served as a kind of reflection or echo at the four directions of the main relics located in the central relic chamber.²

An intended connection, if only symbolical and invisible, between the center of the monument and its outer projections was stressed by the repetition of the horizontal divisions of the so-called Meru stones imbedded in the center of the brick dome and the lines of the string courses of the *wābalkadas*. In exactly the same way the octagonal form of the *āyaka* pillars of the Andhra

stupas at Amarāvati repeated the shape of the mast or *yūpa* that was buried as a symbol of the world axis in the dome of the monument. The precise significance of the *āyaka* pillars is not known, but it is thought that the symbols of the Tree and the Wheel on these side pillars arranged around a central column with its stupa symbol represent the convergence of the events of the Buddha's life in the *Nirvāṇa*, the magic center, which is the stupa with its relic.

The directional symbolism of the *wāhalkadas* is emphasized in certain cases by the addition of steles surmounted by figures of the elephant, ox, horse, and lion (Fig. 4), the same beasts of the four quarters that are represented on the Maurya column at Sārnāth of the third century B.C. (Fig. 5).³ When they were not represented on such free standing *stambhas*, small metal images of the same animals were buried, together with statuettes of the four guardian kings, at the cardinal points around the sacred precinct⁴ or were enclosed at the proper directions in the *yantragala*, a relic box deposited under the mast of the *dāgoba*.

In addition to their well-known relation to the four rivers flowing from a lake at the center of the world, the elephant, ox, lion, and horse were also associated with the four regions of the earth. In the preface of Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi Yü Chi* we read that the world was divided into four regions presided over by rulers of elephants, horses, treasures, and men.⁵ From this corruption of the same concept it seems, no doubt, not too much to suppose that these animals, perhaps even in pre-Buddhist times, were emblems of sovereignty. It has been suggested that their original function was in the form of standards or *dhvāja stambhas*, to be carried in battle or set up in the ruler's capital. Such a custom, perhaps of Scythian origin, was certainly established in India in pre-Maurya times. In a relief at Bhārhut of the second century B.C. we see a mounted Rajah carrying such a standard in the form of a staff surmounted by a *garuda* on a bell capital.⁷ The originally regal symbolism of this nature may have extended to the twin pillars of a lion and a bull at Rampurvā, and the horse pillar seen by Hsüan-tsang at Rummindei.⁸ The animals on the stele at the Kaṇṭaka and Mirisvātiya *dāgobas* could then be regarded at once as appropriate directional emblems of the rivers and as symbols of the ruler's power over the four quarters of the world. As late as A.D. 701, in a Far Eastern survival of this concept, the Japanese Emperor Mommu sat enthroned, surrounded by banners of the four directional animals of Chinese cosmogony.⁹ In Siam these same Indian beasts took part in the anointing of King Chulalongkorn.¹⁰



Fig. 1. Moonstone, Vijayāma Vibāra, Anurādhapura



Fig. 2. Slab from Amarāvati Stupa, London, British Museum



Fig. 3. Western Wābalkada, Ruwanweli Dāgoba, Anurādhapura

What were probably metal images of these same animals, together with representations of *baṃsa* or geese, were included in the decoration of the relic chamber of the Ruwanweli *dāgoba*,¹¹ a combination that also occurs in the carving of the so-called moonstones of Anurādhapura (Fig. 1). It may be inferred that these moonstones also are cosmic diagrams, with the *baṃsa*—the birds of Brahma, typifying the union of all beings, earthly and celestial, with Brahma—representing the fifth direction or zenith of the magic square. It will be remembered that in a *vihāra* described by Hsüan-tsang that had four of its stories decorated with carvings of the elephant, lion, ox, and horse, a fifth level was given over to representations of what the pilgrim calls "doves," but which—since Hsüan-tsang was neither ornithologist nor art historian—were probably the geese or *baṃsa* of the Aśokan capitals and the Anurādhapura moonstones.¹²

The further point to be noted about the animals on the moonstones is their stylistic resemblance to the beasts on the Mauryan columns (Fig. 5). Whereas most Singhalese representations of animals are either heraldic or entirely inept, there is a classical, naturalistic quality about the beasts on the moonstones that strongly suggests their derivation from Maurya prototypes, as though these imperial monuments, both by their association with Aśoka and their technical perfection, had provided an artistic norm long after the disappearance of the culture that had produced them.

The directional symbolism of these Singhalese *dāgobas* was emphasized, again following the iconography of the Sārnāth column, by the representation of four suns on the *harmikā*, like the lesser wheels on the plinth of the Aśokan pillar that symbolized the positions of the sun in conjunction with the four great planets that were in their ascendent at the four seasons of the year.¹³ We are reminded again of the Japanese court ceremonial, in which the person of the emperor was flanked by banners of the sun and moon in conjunction with the signs of the cardinal points.¹⁴ Sometimes these circles on the Singhalese *dāgobas* are called sun and moon, so that they could be thought of as the two heavenly bodies circling the summit of Mount Meru, as the darkened sun and moon revolve around the Tree of the Crucifixion.

Our great source of information for the study of Singhalese antiquities—the *Mahāvamsa*—contains references to the apparent dedications of *wāhalkadas*. Gajabāhu I (A.D. 173-195) constructed what are described as *adimukhas* at the gates of the Abhāyagiri *dāgoba* (*Mahāvamsa*, XXXV, 119). This word *adimukha* has been translated as "vestibule" and is a combination of the word

adi, meaning "foremost," and the Indian architectural term *mukha*, meaning the actual entrance or mouth of a city gate. In an inscription found on one of these structures at the same shrine (the Abhāyagiri *dāgoba*) there is a reference to *āyakas* erected by Kanitṭha Tissa (A.D. 226-244). The interesting thing to us about all of these designations is that *wābalkada* in modern Singhalese and *āyaka* in Sanskrit mean "gateway" or "entrance." There probably is an original explanation for this designation. Our understanding of these terms must begin with the assumption that these are only symbolical gates, not portals to any real enclosure, just as the portico of Jefferson's capitol at Richmond was originally not a functional entrance but only a symbolical frontispiece to the capital of Virginia. They are the gates of the universe which the stupa personifies in stone, as the gates of a Tibetan *maṇḍala* are entrances to a cosmic diagram of the universe.¹⁵ An early Buddhist diagram from Tun-huang has its cruciform projections specifically labeled "gates."¹⁶ Like the four doors, real or false, of a Hindu temple, these gates mark the points where the divinity, or in this case the relic of the Buddha, manifests itself. They are, in other words, the gates to the other world. As already stated, it is notable, too, that the string courses of the *wābalkadas* echo the divisions of the stone steles representing the world mountain Meru, which were buried in the center of the *dāgoba*.¹⁷ There are many indications in the *Mahāvamsa* that the stupas in Ceylon were magic replicas of the cosmos and at the same time symbols of the ruler's universal kingship—citadels at once of the Buddha and the Cakravartin. It is for this reason that the Meru stones were inserted under the dome symbolizing the sky. The importance of the cardinal points in all such magic recreations of the universe is notable in earlier microcosms in Babylon as well as in India, and there can be no doubt that this aspect of the *maṇḍala* persisted in Ceylon. The *wābalkadas* are symbolical gates to the city of Cakravartin and the Buddha. In some cases they were actual entrances, since at these points stairs gave access to the upper platforms of the *dāgoba*. As though to point out this meaning and function, the superstructure of the *wābalkada* appears as a kind of stage-set of an ancient Indian city gate complete with reliefs of *toranas* that preceded these portals, just as the gates of Tibetan *maṇḍalas* are provided with crenellations indicating their symbolical purpose (Fig. 6).

The *wābalkadas* are gates to the world of the Buddha, in much the same way that the false doors of the Hindu temple or a tomb are figuratively portals to the other world. In the same way, in the Andhra stupas it may be supposed

that the *āyaka* pillars and the platforms on which they stand are also to be understood as gates. One is reminded of the descriptions of the City of Cakravartin in the *Mahāvastu*, in which there are repeated mentions of pillars erected in front of the gates of the city and of a column set up in the exact center of the citadel of the world ruler.¹⁸

¹ A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 54, Delhi, 1938, pls. XIII and XV. Figure 2 in the present article, a slab from Amarāvati, shows the original arrangement of pillars and platform.

² See *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1946, p. 70, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, XXXVII, 3-7.

³ See S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1947, pp. 54-55, and *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1934, Leyden, 1936, Pl. VI. At the Kapṭaka Cetiya at Mihintale figures of elephants crowned the eastern stele; lions were found at the northern *vāhalkada*; and bulls and horses were unearthed at the south. Similar beasts topped the directional stele at the Mirisvātiya *dāgoba* (see *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII).

⁴ See the report on the Vijayārāma *vihāra* at Anurādhapura in *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, XLI (1896), 16 and Pls. XXIII-XXVI.

⁵ The plan of the *yantragala*, with its division into nine equal compartments, is probably descended from ancient Vedic ground plans of *mandalas* that survive in the ground plans of later Hindu temples. See *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1938, pp. 18-19, Pls. 4-8.

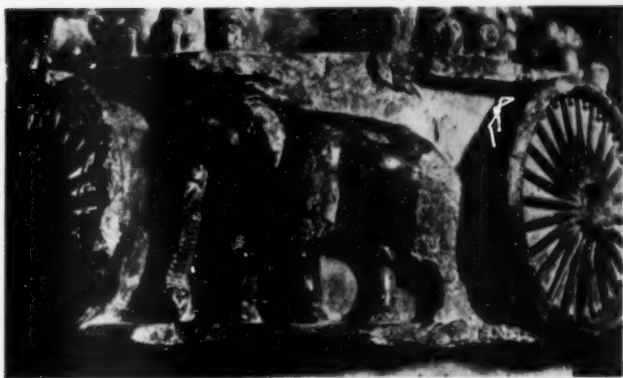
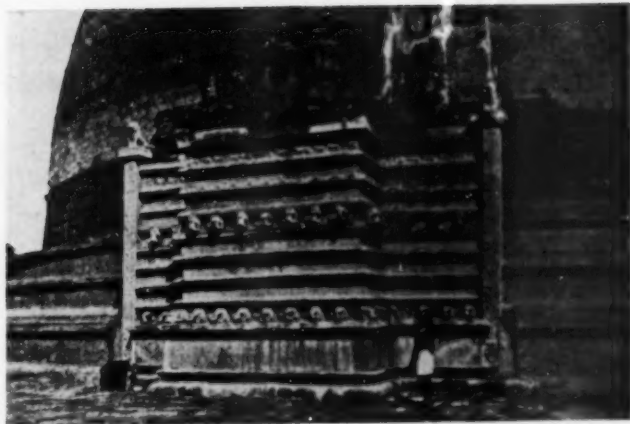
⁶ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London (n.d.), I, 13.

⁷ A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, Pl. XXXII, 5.

⁸ The elephant and bull on the coins of the Bactrian sovereigns, Apollodotus and Heliocles, offer an interesting parallel (R. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings*, London, 1886, Pl. VII, 8; IX, 8, 9); the elephant headress of the earlier Bactrian Demetrius is specifically a sign of Indian conquest.

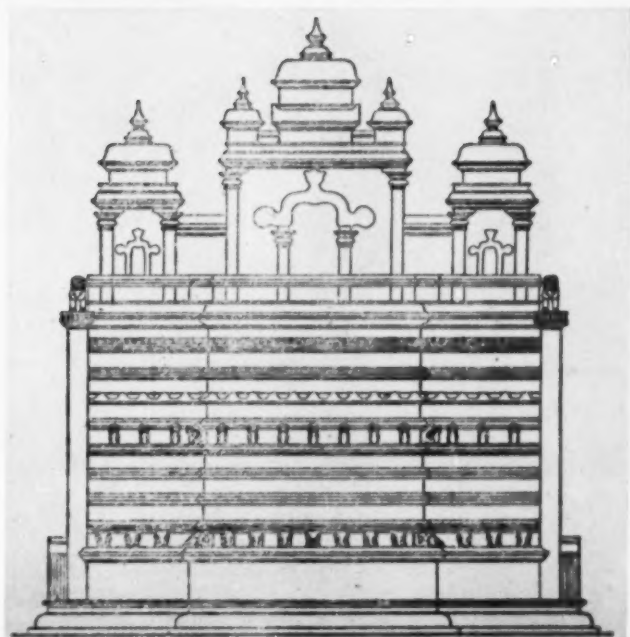
- ⁹ J. B. Snellen, *Shoku Nihongi*, Trans. of the As. Soc. of Japan, 2nd ser., XI (Dec., 1934), 187.
- ¹⁰ Described in *Anna and the King of Siam* by M. Landon, New York, 1944, p. 299.
- ¹¹ The *Mahāvamsa* (tr. Geiger), XX, 65.
- ¹² Beal, *op. cit.*, I, lxviii.
- ¹³ See *Mahāvamsa*, XXXII, 3-6, and Paranavitana, *op. cit.*, p. 34, Pl. VI (a).
- ¹⁴ Snellen, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ Schuyler Cammann, "The 'TLV' Pattern on Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty," J.A.O.S., vol. LXVIII, no. 4 Oct.-Dec., 1948, Fig 2.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Fig. 3c.
- ¹⁷ Paranavitana, *op. cit.*, Pl. V (a).
- ¹⁸ The *Mahāvamsa*, trans. by J. J. Jones, London, 1949, I, 154, 155.

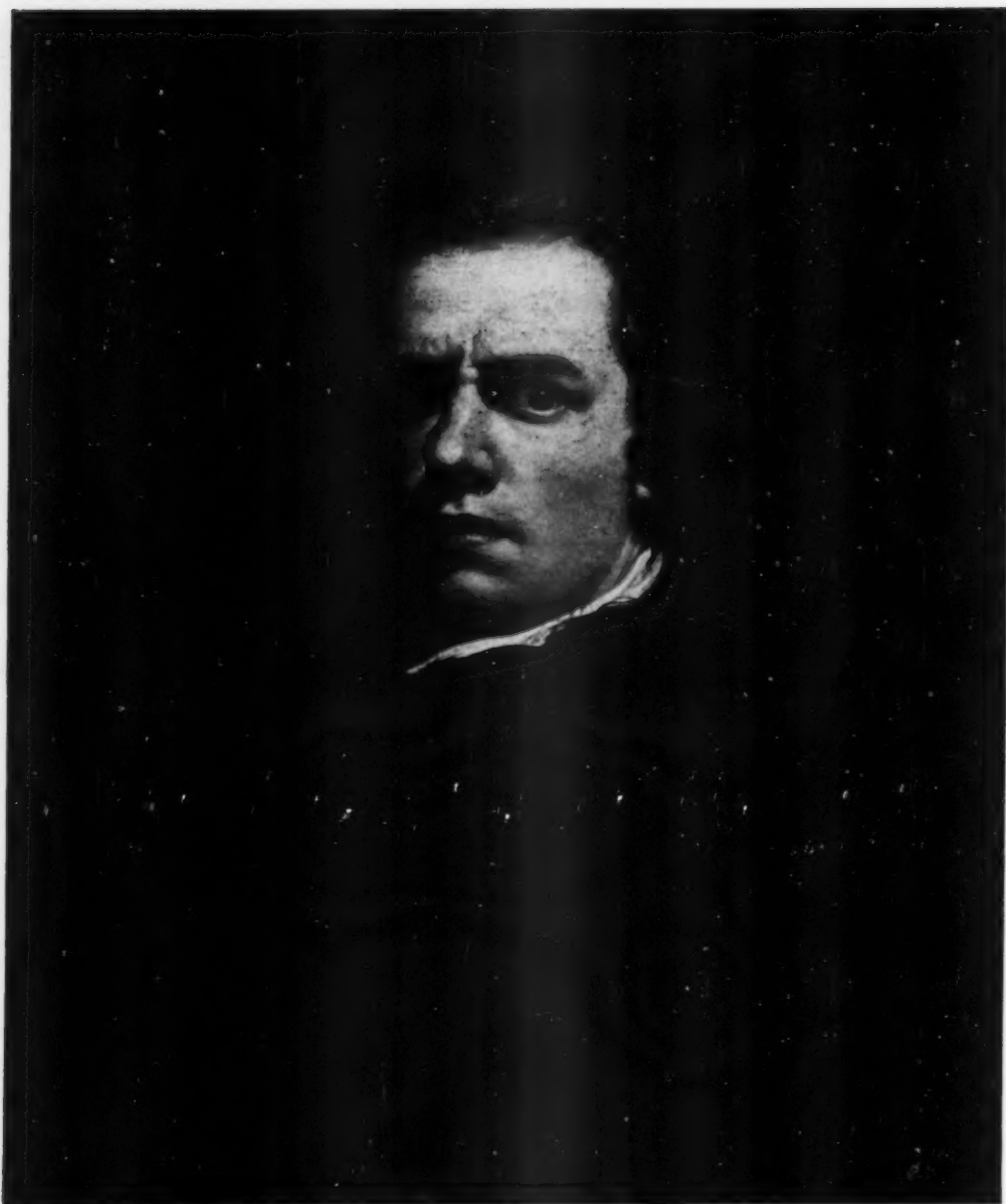
*Fig. 4. Western Wābalkada,
Mirisvātiya Dāgoba
Anurādhapura*



*Fig. 5. Aśokan Capital
(detail), Sārnāth,
Archaeological Museum*

*Fig. 6. Conjectural Elevation
of a Wābalkada
(After Paranavitana,
"The Stupa in Ceylon")*





*Fig. 1. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER, Self-Portrait
Private Collection, Pennsylvania*

THE SALE OF THE STUDIO OF ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER

By MICHEL BENISOVICH
Translation by Adolph Cavallo

IT was while pursuing our researches on the Swedish painter Adolph-Ulrich Wertmüller (Fig. 1) and his American period that we were led to study his posthumous sale which was held in Philadelphia on May 18, 1812. Harold Lancour, in his *American Art Auctions Catalogues, 1785-1942*, a publication of outstanding importance to all researchers and investigators, mentions that the earliest sales catalogue in America appeared in 1785:

March 10. Du Simitière, Pierre Eugène. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, prints, drawings, etc. (The American Museum). Sold at Du Simitière's late dwelling house, Arch Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, Philadelphia. Broadside. 36 lots.

This refers to the Swiss artist's curio collection which contained books, coins, curios, drawings (170) and prints (1,300). But the extremely rare broadside (Frick Art Reference Library) announcing the sale could hardly be called a catalogue in the true sense of the word. It is rather a bill of notification like many others which appeared in the newspapers of the time. We mention another quoted from the New York *Directory* for 1786 (p. 147 of Appendix. Facsimile reprint published by the Trow City Directory Company, N. Y., n.d.) as an example:

June 15th. To be sold at public auction by Viner Van Zandt, at Corre's Tavern on the 17th inst. a capital and well chosen collection of French, Italian, Flemish and Dutch paintings, mostly in good preservation, consisting of the works of the following esteemed Masters, viz.:

Old Frank	Van Dyke	De Witt
Rubens	V. Bloomer	Schultz
Van Noors	Stenwyck	Savary
Steins	Carlo Fiori	Boucher
Guido	Van Boom	Van Leyden
Teniers	R. Savary	Tischbien
Poussin	Van Brogel	A. Bloemar, etc.

In this collection there are several good paintings—The Adoration of the Eastern Sages—Our Saviour, by Guido; and many rare and valuable landscapes.¹

Not until he comes to the year 1812 does Lancour mention an art sale catalogue in the true sense of the word. Thus the sale of Wertmüller's studio has the honor of being the occasion for the publication of the first catalogue of a public sale of art objects in the United States. We know today of two copies of the publication: one in the New-York Historical Society, the other in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C. The text is very well written, perhaps prepared by the late artist. The documents concerning this period—the time of the death of Wertmüller and his wife—with the inventories, are found in Philadelphia divided among the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Swedish Historical Society, the Academy of Fine Arts and the family of one of the executors, Amos Slaymaker.

Married in 1801 to Elisabeth Henderson (Fig. 4), Wertmüller dated his will on December 25, 1802, and left to his wife his share of the Amsterdam legacy which had cost him so many disappointments during the last twenty years of his life:

In the name of God Amen. I Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller of the city of Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania being favored with health of Body. . . . ITEM whereas on the 20th day of october in the year 1782 Mr. Joachim Wretman merchant in Amsterdam died and by his testament and last will left a legacy of 40 thousand florins of Holland to my father's children and his half brother's children, to be divided equally between the two families after the death of Joachim Ljungen and his sister who were to enjoy the interest of the said sum during their lives. Now I give all my part to my beloved wife Elisabeth Wertmüller.

The tides of the Revolution and general ruin passed over this problematical legacy but we note that a codicil dated July 3, 1811, was added to the will:

Since I have purchased a certain plantation and Tract of Land whereon I now reside, situated on Naaman's Creek in Rockland Manor in Brandywine Hundred, in the County of Newcastle and State of Delaware, containing 145 acres and a half of an acre, be the same more or less, including half of Naaman's Creek from the White Oak down. . . . Ground and rents issuing out of lots of ground situated on the 5th and Gilbert Street in the City of Philadelphia. . . .

The painter must have been already quite ill when he completed the will with this codicil which benefited his wife as executrix. The property described above was located on the border of Delaware where the majestic river, flowing into Delaware Bay, becomes as wide as a large lake. At the present time the district of Marcus Hook, of which it is a part, between Philadelphia and Wilmington, has come under the expanding influence of the industrial center

of Chester and has lost all its rural character. It is an effort to find the remains of the painter's old house in the maze of a steel works.³

Wertmüller lived only a few months after the signing of the codicil. The burial record of Gloria Dei Church (Old Swede), on file at the Genealogical Society of Philadelphia, carries under the date of October 4, 1811, p. 272, the following entry:

He was a celebrated limner. Arrived from Spain in a Swedish vessel in 1793. In Stockholm he sustained another heavy loss in the failure of the principal merchant. Was married on January 1st 1801 to Elisabeth Hamilton. With her he got property and lived happy. . . . Necessary improvements required often greater bodily fatigues than a person unused to could bear, as in this country true laborers are not only scarce but also very expensive. His occasional employment in painting required also a peculiar waste of vital powers. The physicians believed that his disease was in part occasioned by the collected noxious effects of the colors. The principal and proximate cause however was in the *haemtidrosis* to which he had been subject many years and which had become aggravated by the excessive heat, the harvest season and his immoderate fatigue. . . . He was during two months sick, but only for the last 10 or 14 days confined to bed.⁴

An obituary appeared in *Poulson American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, vol. XL, Monday, October 14, 1811:

Aetatis 61 on Friday the 5th inst. at his house, near Naaman's Creek below Marcus Hook. His remains were deposited in the cemetery of the Swedish Church in Southwark [no trace of the tomb exists now]. The heat of the weather prevented extensive invitation to the funeral. As a man he was estimable for strict integrity, defensive courage, temperance, regular activity, sincere friendship, conjugal affection, polite manners. As a citizen he was zealous for the Union of Civil Order and Liberty.

There also appeared later Notes in the *American Watchman* and the *Delaware Republican*.

Elisabeth Wertmüller survived her husband by only a few months. She died on Sunday, January 19, 1812, "at the age of fifty or more." An inventory of the Goods and Chattels of the Estate of the late Elisabeth Wertmüller was drawn up by the administrator on January 24. We find listed, among other things, "a small sword valued at eight dollars; two gold watches—respectively ninety-three and forty-eight dollars" and a number of pictures:

General George Washington likeness, gilt frame, valued dollars	50
Drayman's likeness	10
Volcano	6
2 pictures by Rembrandt	80
1 Vandyke's likeness	75
1 picture Rembrandt and wife	60
1 picture Tulip	5
1 picture French artist [portrait of Vien]	20
1 picture Head of Danaë	125
1 picture Danaë small in full shape	20
1 picture Saint John	50
2 pictures Cupids at 20	40
1 picture Landscape	4
[In the 14th Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia it figured as No. 386: <i>Landscape with Rocks and Trees</i> , by Wertmüller]	
1 head of George Washington in miniature	10
1 picture Head of Danaë	75
1 picture Wood fawn	50
1 ditto full length	
1 picture Venus	75
1 ditto	1
2 likeness of George Washington not finished	20
Head of Danaë	75
Likeness of the Queen of France	5
Likeness of George Reed, Esq.	60

This was the last commission Wertmüller worked on before his death and refers to George Read (not Reed), district attorney for Delaware, son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, who died at Newcastle on Sept. 3, 1836, at the age of seventy years.

The public sale was announced in the *American Watchman* of February 5, 1812, as taking place on the property on the 26th:

To be Sold at Public Vendue on Wednesday the 26th inst. at the late dwelling house of Elizabeth Wertmuller, deceased, in Brandywine hundred, Newcastle county, horses, milch cows, a yoke of oxen, young cattle and hogs, two ox carts and one horse cart, ploughs, harrows, and a variety of farming utensils, a quantity of hay, corn and oats—rye straw in bundles, also a great variety of household and kitchen furniture, such as, bureaus, tables, chairs, looking glasses, beds, bedding and bedsteads—silver plate and china ware, one eight day clock—two gold watches and a great variety of paintings, prints and composition work—cider and cider barrels, with



*Fig. 2. CORNEILLE DE LYON
Duc de Cossé-Brissac
Rochester Memorial Art Gallery*



*Fig. 3. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER
Self-Portrait (miniature on copper)
Philadelphia, Private Collection*



*Fig. 4. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER
Mrs. Wertmüller (Elisabeth Henderson)
(miniature on copper)
Philadelphia, Private Collection*



*Fig. 5. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER, George Washington
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



*Fig. 6. Andrew Hamilton I (1676-1741)
(copy by W'ertmüller from lost original)
Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

a number of other articles too tedious to mention. The sale to begin at ten o'clock on said day when due attendance and reasonable credit will be given, by

Amos Slaymaker, Adm'r.

After this date the pictures were shipped to Philadelphia and were offered for private sale by a circular advertisement which we have not been able to find. A copy of this broadside was offered in the public Henkel sale at Philadelphia on June 26, 1919, under number 1238:

Notice of sale of paintings by Wertmüller including a portrait of Washington, 15 years previous to that of Mr. Stewart's folio.

This broadside had been acquired by the late Mr. Fred H. Shelton of Philadelphia. Among the paintings listed on the circular were the following, offered privately for sale:

Rigaud head-size
Portrait of Vien

Abelard head-size
Brutus head-size

Carman or Assassin

Because there were few bids, a public sale to the highest bidder was imperative. J. Dorsey of Philadelphia was the auctioneer. It is strange that Harold Lancour, in his list of *American Auction Houses*, which so advantageously precedes *American Art Auctions Catalogues*, has not been able to discover any other sale by this auctioneer.

The catalogue of the Wertmüller studio comprised twelve pages and 304 lots from which we shall give excerpts. There were fifty-eight paintings chiefly by Wertmüller, some drawings, engravings, books and objects pertaining to the art of the profession. For the paintings at least, the catalogue in the New-York Historical Society is annotated with prices:

Portfolio No. 1 with "sundry chalk-originals done at Rome by Mr. Wertmüller" after *Venus de Belle Fesse* and other classical statues.

Portfolio No. 2 with chalk drawings and counter proofs.

No. 85—Six chalk engravings by Wertmüller.

Note: What were these Chalk engravings by Wertmüller? We may refer to the notices published on the eve of the public auction in *American Watchman* and *Delaware Republican*, April, 1812, and *Philadelphia Repertory*, 11,397: "He was concerned in the publishing in a fine style of various chalk engravings of nearly all the fine statues and busts in Europe taken immediately from the objects, some of the originals of which remained in his portfolios and many copies." There were offered for sale nearly 400 proofs.

Portfolio No. 5 Nine sets of 20 each.

Portfolio No. 6 Ten sets of 20 each.

No. 98—Collection of 20 tablets from the Museum of Guarnaccio.

Note: This collection proves that Wertmüller, as a student of Vien, had studied Etruscan art in Italy. Monseigneur Mario Guarnacci, prelate in Volterra, presented to this city in 1761 his collection of Etruscan antiques. It had been previously described in 1744 by A. Gori, *Musei Guarnacci antiqua monumenta etrusca eruta Florentiae*. Where did the tablets finally go?

Portfolio No. 6 contained among others: Heads of Artists (Nos. 127, 143); Book of Heads (No. 128); Small book of Flowers, etc., all by Wertmüller. Among Books of Prints, *Suecia Antiqua et Moderna*, 1 vol. elegantly bound, 400 plates, et la *Perspective de Pozzo*, 2 vols.

Paintings Chiefly by Wertmüller (see catalogue for measurements).

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Small Danaë | dollars 470 |
| 2. Danaë head size | 160 |
| 3. ditto | 80 |
| 4. ditto | 106 |
| 5. Rembrandt, oval (evidently self-portrait) | 21 |
| 6. Wife of Rembrandt (companion) | 21 |
| 7. Rubens head size | 85 |
| 8. ditto | 85 |
| 9. Vandyke | 25 |
| 10. General Washington head size painted from person | 50 |
| Note: This portrait is known as the "Wagner Portrait" since John Wagner bought it at the sale and his family has kept it since. Other portraits of Washington were purchased by the executor. One of them passed into the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1874 for the sum of 425 dollars. | |
| 11. French Artist head size | 28 |
| [Portrait of Vien?] | |
| 12. Carman(?) head size | 32 |

Note: This mysterious "Carman," previously named "The Assassin" could be the painting which was sold in New York February 17-18, 1914, by the American Associated Galleries, the Nicholas M. Mathews Collection of Baltimore: "... Head and shoulders portrait of a self-satisfied, determined man, of not many years but of maturity of life, his figure facing the left, three quarters front, his face turned directly to the front; he eyes the onlooker steadily from under full, slightly-drooping lids. His white shirt of soft material, with flowing collar, is open at the throat and he wears wrapped about his shoulders loosely a black cloak. His dark hair is long and wavy, and his broad brimmed soft black hat is placed with a careless confidence which accords with the not easily disturbed intention of his facial expression. Dark neutral background. Signed at the upper right A. Wertmüller.

Suedois. P. in Roma 1778. Canvas 23,5 height, 19 inches wide." Sold to T. Austin.

This would be one of the earliest signatures by the painter after the date "Paris, 1774" on the *Portrait of a Young Boy* (Lamm collection, Nasby, Sweden).

Nos. 14, 15, 20—Queen of France from person fetched the modest amounts of eleven and eight dollars.

No. 16—French Noblesse dollars 8

Note: There can be no doubt that this is the painting recently purchased by the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery (Fig. 2) as a Corneille de Lyon. William Dunlap in his *History . . .*, 1st ed., vol. III, 1834, gives the list of paintings in the collection of Robert Gilmor in Baltimore: "small portrait by Holbein of a Nobleman, formerly belonging to Wertmüller." See also article on Gilmor as a collector by Anna Wells Rutledge, *Art News*, March, 1949, p. 28 f, and by the same author "Robert Gilmor, Jr., Baltimore Collector," in *Walters Art Gallery Journal*, 1948, p. 19 ff.

No. 17—Venus unfinished 75

No. 18—Wood fawn 65

No. 19—King and Queen of France, small ovals from person

No. 21—Landscape sight

No. 23—Rock and precipice

No. 24—Island of Jamaica

No. 27—Cupid asleep

No. 28—ditto to match

No. 33—Death of Germanicus

No. 34—Toppers by Ostade

No. 35—ditto to match by Molnier [sic]

No. 36—Flowers by Wertmüller

No. 37—ditto

No. 54—General Washington, from person in 1794. Small oval 6 inches by 5¼ inches

Note: Was exhibited recently in New York by Bonniers, booksellers. This is the favorite size for Wertmüller's portraits on wood done in the United States.

No. 58—The large Danaë painted from and size of nature.

"This justly celebrated and fine painting, the admiration of Europeans and Americans, has just been received, the expected receipt of which has been the cause of the retard in the sale of the others" (Fig. 8).

Three busts followed: Niobe, Laocoon family, alto-rilievo, Young Apollo, Torso and the "Art of the Profession"; A Lay Figure, easels, and at least twenty-two "straining Frames with prepared canvas for George Washington" of various sizes.

No. 20—A large case containing colours for oil-painting:

in lots to suit viz., Venetian Oker, Flake, White, Red, Chalks Stockholm and Prussian Blues, Stone Okers, Red Lake, Gum Amber Resin, Mastic for Porphyry, Coleothan Oil, Mineral Black, Orange Oker, Naples and King's Yellow, Orpiment, Black and White Crayons, etc.

A small library of classics and a copy of *Voyage d'Italie* by Cochin followed.

The total proceeds from this sale came to the impressive sum of \$4,522.72. The appraisal of all the property left by Wertmüller was set in 1812 at \$5,000. But when the final settlement was made in 1822 the net total amounted to "2,462 dollars and 32 cents," according to Granström.⁴ An article of the time giving further information on the results of the sale appeared in the *Niles Register* at Baltimore on May 30, 1812, p. 213. This newspaper had already published an obituary on April 25, of the same year.

It must gratify every man attached to science and those elegancies which elevate human character, to be informed that paintings, prints and articles of profession of the celebrated Mr. Wertmüller have brought such prices as to establish an interesting fact, viz. that real merit will in America meet frank full recompense—perhaps equal to that of Europe.

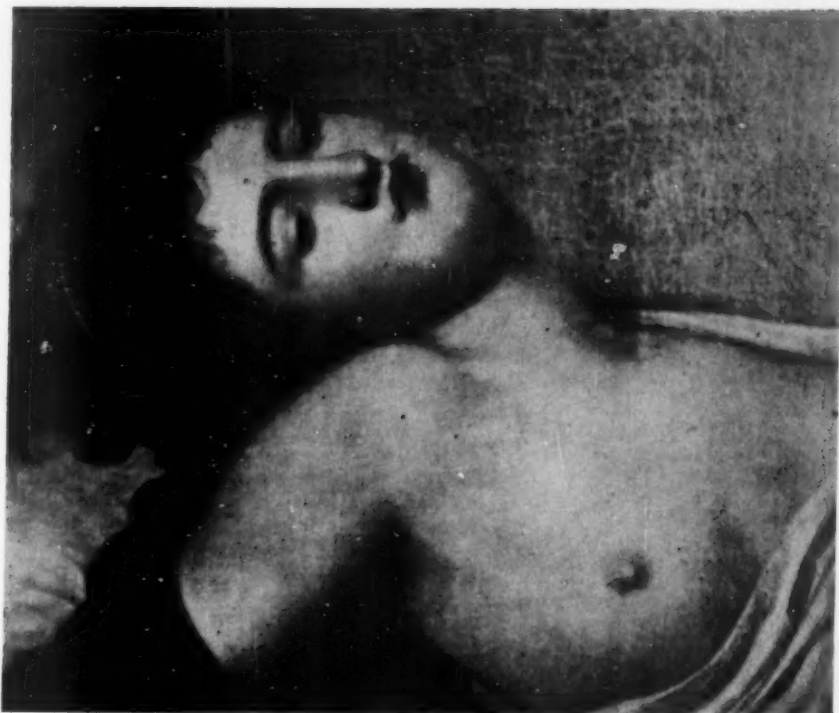
Certain prices which are mentioned supplement the annotations in the catalogue cited above:

The large Danaë, size of and painted from nature—dollars	1650
Venus, size of and painted from nature (at great expense), unfinished as regards the hands and drapery.	75
St. Peter oval	50
St. John oval	40
Village on fire	40
General Washington, not finished	50
Death of Germanicus, first sketch, small	35

It is to be regretted that the ten finest and most important paintings, among which the large Danaë, bust of Danaë and the Wood fawn are purchased specially to be sent to Europe. The Academy of Fine Arts should certainly have possessed these. They would have repaid their price in six weeks; the American public is unquestionably liberal, 4000 dollars were offered for the principal painting to the artist [in his lifetime of course], provided he would be responsible for its safe delivery at its now intended destination.

It is evident that the reporter indiscriminately repeated the rumors that go along with every important public sale.

Here are some details, taken from the sale catalogue, concerning the exhibition of the works of art during the three days from April 27 to 29, 1812:



*Fig. 7. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER, Bust of Danaë
Augusta, Ga., Augusta Art Gallery*



*Fig. 8. ADOLPH-ULRICH WERTMÜLLER, Danaë and the Shower of Gold
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum •*



*Fig. 9. Andrew Hamilton II
(Copy by Wermüller, 1810, from lost original)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*



*Fig. 10. Elizabeth Johnson Hamilton
(Copy by Wermüller, 1810, from lost original)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*

Every print or painting which can be considered by the most delicate as undecorous, will be kept in a separate apartment; there are however none that really deserve that character. Monday the 4th of May will be exclusively appropriated for the accommodation of the ladies.

It was the period when, at the exhibitions of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, "In consideration of the unblushing character of the casts from the Life, Mondays were set apart with tender gallantry for ladies." (Henderson, *History of the Pennsylvania Academy of Art*.)

Who bought the large *Danaë*, the piece for which Wertmüller had been offered \$1500 in America, according to the publicity preceding the sale? One might think that it was the auctioneer J. Dorsey who, following the orders given, pushed the picture up to the \$1500 sum offered by Rembrandt Peale, according to the little-known article by him published in the New York art magazine *The Crayon* on October 3, 1855, under the title "Reminiscences, Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller." We reprint this article (see appendix) because it throws light on certain little-known events in the life of this Swedish painter as well as on the artistic life of Philadelphia at that time. We can forgive the elderly man—Rembrandt Peale was seventy-seven at the time—for making the error of having the painter marry the widow Lydia Henderson instead of her daughter Elisabeth, who was also a widow, as we are told by "an indent" dated June 16, 1802:

to Eliza Wertmüller, formerly Eliza Henderson, for her former husband's services rendered on board Frigate "Commodore Gillon"—Lstg 52.94.4, plus interest from April 1789, Lstg 24.10.0 and paid by the State of South Carolina.⁵

Rembrandt Peale informs us that the *Danaë* was purchased by five gentlemen for \$1500, probably as a speculative venture. Two years after the public sale, *Danaë* was in the possession of the painter John Wesley Jarvis in New York. It was in his studio that his pupil Henry Inman saw it.⁶ Two years after Wertmüller's death the *Danaë* was the object of an open letter to Mr. Old-school, editor of the *Port Folio* in Philadelphia. It was signed "A Lover of the Arts" and appeared in January, 1814:

For a long time past there has been exhibited a painting of no great merit as a work of art, but very indecent in its composition and quite unfit for public inspection. It was however tolerated and having become profitable to its owner, other artists thinking that a shower of gold might be had for some rival *Danaë*, have furnished the town with Venuses and Ledas from every corner. After these abortive efforts by minor manufacturers of pic-

tures, we have at last seen one of our most distinguished artists concentrate the whole force of his very respectable talents to produce a work of the same indecent character. Having satisfied his own imagination, the picture is offered for public exhibition. This the example of Danaë might justify.

The "Lover of the Arts" deplored the fact that the "filth of mythology" had descended upon the "quiet, decent, moral city of Philadelphia" and that this ill deed had been perpetrated "not by any foreign vagrant but by residents if not natives of the place." This indignant letter seems to have been directed against Rembrandt Peale, who, in 1812, had showed his *Roman Daughter* at the Academy exhibition. Charles C. Sellers, after having noted that Rembrandt might have been influenced by the *Roman Daughter* of Rubens writes:

It is likely that he was influenced also by the masterpiece of Adolph-Ulrich Wertmüller, *Danaë and the Shower of Gold* . . . which made Philadelphians catch their breath. . . . Peale the elder did not like the nude. He had been pleased when a group of Indians brought into the room turned their backs upon this picture [the *Danaë*]. Thus, the children of nature showed that it is not natural, not good to gaze upon nakedness. But Rembrandt Peale was of a more appreciative age. . . . When, therefore, he chose a subject of an original piece of his own, it was like the *Danaë*, delicately salacious in character . . .

Thanks to the catalogue in the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, a small pamphlet (eight pages in - 16 small) of which we know no other copy, we have learned of the first posthumous exhibition in New York of four Wertmüller paintings. The last page carries a short biographical note written "from church records of the learned and Reverend Nicholas Collin, D.D., missionary to the ancient Swedish Church in Pennsylvania."⁷ This is the text of the first page of the exhibition catalogue:

PAINTINGS BY WERTMULLER

At No 1 Murray Street Corner of Broadway
Park
New York
1815

- No 1 Danaë (accompanied by the mythological story)
- No 2 Marie Antoinette Queen of France
- No 3 Head of Abelard
- No 4 An Unknown Head

At this time the *Analectical Magazine*, in an anonymous article (June, 1815) wrote:

Danaë his greatest and most splendid. . . . In subject and style it offends alike pure taste and the morality of art . . . pollution of art, debasement of artist's power.

This article is of considerable interest in terms of the history of criticism and taste in the United States at the beginning of the century as well as in terms of the evaluation of Wertmüller's influence. We quote a few excerpts from it:

The paintings of Wertmüller had a considerable effect in this country in turning the public attention toward the products of the fine arts and thus contributing to form, or rather to evolve that taste that has since been constantly becoming more and more general. . . . But the arts were then [at the time of Wertmüller's arrival] strangers amongst us and we were not yet rich enough for patronage. . . . In my unlearned judgment he is not to be ranked in either of the two great classes of artists of first rate genius. . . . In a secondary class, I should think that he would rank very high; his genius, if it may be called so, was a genius of mechanical excellence. He was not trained in the best school; the old French Academy was a school of affectation, of trick and flutter and gaudy ornament. The modern French school [this was written in 1815] is quite as distant from truth and nature, being a curious combination of old theatrical taste with pedantic affectation of antique simplicity and smooth hardness [from the study of ancient statuary as a substitute for nature]. Wertmüller's *Washington*, much praised and frequently copied, especially in Europe, has a forced and foreign air, in an attempt after ideal dignity.

Danaë was shown again in Washington in 1829. H. T. Tuckerman wrote of it: "too exceptional a subject to meet with the approbation of sober citizens." It was exhibited once again in New York in 1850. We reprint the announcement in part from the copy in the New York Public Library. The event took place in the Pennington Building, 42 East 42nd Street.

The greatest painting ever exhibited in America . . . original and matchless painting entitled *Danaë*, by an artist who honored America by making it the home of his adoption and closing his life on its soil. . . . When produced in Paris in 1787, the ablest art critics and anatomists were during the progress of his work constant visitors and admirers. Three of the most beautiful ladies of the court sat to him. The head is said to be quite a copy of a Flemish Countess distinguished for remarkable personal loveliness and great mental acquirement. . . . It has been the property of an opulent gentleman who viewed it as an almost priceless gem and closed it to public view. It is now for the first time since 1810 on exhibition in this city. The admirers of the beautiful in art in this metropolis are respectfully assured that they will not be disappointed in viewing this beautiful and classical Painting for the galleries of continental Europe can produce nothing finer. Hours of Exposition 9 am to 10 pm week days. Admission 25 cts. Season tickets 50 cts.

Here is what the critic of the *New York Times* wrote on this occasion:

We have just been favored with an artistic revival more interesting than the exhumation of any Egyptian belle of the court of the Pharaohs. . . . The *Danaë* of Wertmüller has flashed out upon New York after forty years of reclusion in the cabinet of a jealous *virtuoso* as fresh and bright and irresistible a vision of loveliness as she was when she turned the heads of our respectable grandfathers in the days before Waterloo. . . . It is precisely the sort of picture which all the world will enjoy and which Mr. Ruskin would denounce . . . specimen of art as it was understood in the days of David and Canova.

Thus after seventy-five years Wertmüller was finally vindicated.

The picture remained hidden in New Haven. "*Danaë* is not suitable for domestic use," wrote the housekeeper of the *virtuoso*. Its owner, Mr. Heaton, devoted a circular, in an edition of one hundred copies, to the "original and matchless painting." The Boston museum refused it and the *Danaë* entered the collection of the Stockholm Museum in 1913 as a gift of the owner.

A methodical and complete biography of Wertmüller could be worked out only after close investigation of the material in various countries: Sweden, France, Spain, the United States. We hope that our studies, the present one and the ones to follow, may facilitate the task for those who will undertake it.

N.B. Figures 1, 3, 4, 7, 8 courtesy Frick Art Reference Library; 9, 10, photos by Chappel Studio, Philadelphia.
¹ Rembrandt Peale, in his *Notes on Italy*, Philadelphia, 1831, speaks of a "first collection of pictures in the United States"—a consignment made to J. Swanwick, eminent merchant in Philadelphia. "My father first built an exhibition room expressly for paintings. The Italian paintings were deposited and displayed to a public little prepared to appreciate them. They were less disposed to admire the memoranda of fine arts than to censure their deep shadowings."

² Moreau de Saint-Méry, in his *American Journal*, English translation, New York, 1947, says: "From Newcastle to Wilmington, and above, the Delaware shore is charming and varied [1794]. Towards noon we were at Marcus Hook, the name of a rich inhabitant which was given to his wharf. There the land is less cultivated, but there are green fields here and there, some of them thinly wooded" (p. 88).

³ The expenditures in the artist's "cash book" show for September 8, 1811: "Médecine pour purger et 'morir' par M. Didier acheté à Hook chez W. Connets 80 cts." The patient died a month later.

⁴ G. A. Granström, *Några Anteckningar om Familjen Wertmüller*, Stockholm, 1919.

⁵ This document is preserved in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

⁶ Around 1846 the *Danaë* was in Inman's studio, according to H. T. Tuckerman, *American Artist Life*, New York, 1867: "*Danaë* occupied a nook curtained from observation."

⁷ A Swedish pastor and friend of Wertmüller, who officiated when the artist was married. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, says under date of February 19, 1795: "I viewed the Swedish Church and saw its philosopher and philanthropist pastor Dr. Collins, my colleague at the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia."

APPENDIX

The Crayon. Volume 11, No. 14. New York, October 3, 1855. "Reminiscences: Adolph-Ulric Wertmüller."

Dissatisfied with the unsettled state of Europe, Wertmüller came to Philadelphia in the year 1795. He had been painter to the King of Sweden and had gained some celebrity by Pictures of Poetical and Mythological subjects, his most recent one being a *Danaë*. Our custom-house then made no distinction in favor of the arts and Mr. Wertmüller found himself embarrassed by the excessive charges of duty on his Paintings. In this dilemma he was advised to apply to my father and me, and we succeeded in getting him through, by the payment of duty on a low estimate, as I contended that his picture, though highly valued by him would not bring at auction more than five hundred dollars. Thus relieved, he procured lodgings and commenced as a portrait painter. His large paintings, though highly finished, were not much admired, and he was chiefly employed in small portraits, for which he was better calculated, being nearsighted; and in these his high finishing was better appreciated. His *Danaë* was admired by a few persons in Philadelphia that *talked* about painting, but nobody thought of purchasing it, partly repelled by the subject, which was abhorrent to their Quaker sentiments, and by the high price put upon it, as his masterpiece, having with unmeasured time, lavished on it all the resources of his art. It was certainly a beautiful and brilliant painting. Ambitious of drawing himself into notice, he obtained the consent of Washington to sit for his portrait. It was, as usual, a highly decorated painting, but dark in the coloring and had a German aspect. It was but little admired, and soon ceased to be spoken of or noticed in his room where it hung between two open windows. When it disappeared there, I never heard where it had gone. It appears probable however that Washington took it and presented it to Mr. Cazanove of Geneva. It is, therefore, to be presumed that a portrait in the possession of Mr. Bogart of Jamaica, Long Island (as I have heard) must be a copy of this portrait, which is now in the possession of Mr. C. A. Davis, a good engraving of which is prefixed to Irving's *Life of Washington*, where it can be seen by those who are competent to judge, that there is some merit in the upper part of the face, but none in the character in the lower portion.

In the autumn of the same year, Washington sat to me and my father [follows a paragraph on Stuart's "copies"]. For several years Mr. Wertmüller made himself contented with little encouragement, being of simple and inexpensive habits; but it was mortifying to see so good a painter employed as he was by William Hamilton of the Woodlands, in cleaning and repairing his collection of *old* paintings. It is not true that he copied the family portraits. [The portrait at the Philadelphia Historical Society contradicts this last statement (Fig. 6)].

Being obliged to move, Mr. Wertmüller found it difficult to suit himself with a painting room, the custom here not being as it is in Europe, to affix written notices of "Rooms to let." He, therefore, in the part of the city where he wished to locate

himself, went from house to house to make inquiries. A large house in Cherry street attracted his attention, as having a good exposure. It belonged to a widow lady of some wealth, who had no idea of letting lodgings; but the interesting appearance of Mr. Wertmüller induced her to acquiesce, and he actually was received as a lodger, and boarder in the widow's mansion, and a few years after became her affectionate and grateful husband. [He married the widow's daughter.]

Disgusted with the little taste for the Arts, as shown in this city, the mild and amiable artist retired with his wife to a farm which she owned near Chester, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits; but the fame of his *Danaë* arose, and pursued him in his retirement, and hundreds of persons who neglected the opportunity of seeing his picture in the city, flocked to the farm-house much to the annoyance of the painter, but to the profit of a neighboring hotel, where the company put up their carriages and dined—thus paying dearly for a sight which they disregarded when it could be had for nothing—the perverseness of fashion!

One Saturday evening, I was surprised by a visit from Mr. Wertmüller, who called to say, that since the public were now determined to see his picture, he had brought it to town, placed it in Cherry street, the house being unoccupied and he had advertised it should be open on Monday morning. I went with him to see how it was arranged and found the picture in a white-washed room with five windows, all open, placed on two carpenter's trusses, in the center, and kept erect by ropes across the room. I proposed to Mr. W., that if he would send a carpenter and some green baize, I would make a better disposition of it. I found the carpenter ready and a roll of baize at my command. The picture was placed against the wall, near an end window, half open, all the other windows closed. Baize over the wall and on the floor, and a curtain so that the picture, first seen in a large mirror (which I borrowed) in the corner opposite, could only be approached in the proper direction, and seen at a proper distance, regulated by a bar. At ten o'clock it was all ready, and the first visitor was Mr. Wertmüller himself who was astonished and delighted. Taking my hand between both of his, he expressed his earnest thanks, saying, "My dear sir, I never saw my picture before." It looked, indeed, beautiful, and attracted much company, which I promoted by writing some paragraphs for the papers.

Before returning into the country, he called again to thank me, and kindly gave me an ounce of a German red, to which with a Naples yellow, he was mainly indebted for the flesh tints, of which I had expressed my admiration. I was really obliged to him, but immediately began a search through every chemical establishment in the city, to discover a similar pigment among the innumerable hues of *crocus martis*. At last I found it, quite to my satisfaction, and gave a pound of it to Mr. W. But the *bulk* of my gift was ill-timed, from my ignorance of human nature, as I thus rendered his present to me apparently of little value, which was the reverse of my intention.

After the death of Mr. W. in 1812, the *Danaë* increased his reputation, and bustling connoisseurs declared that no American painter could ever equal the beauty of its coloring. The imputation being chiefly directed against me, stirred up my

pride, and I painted a picture, the size of life, to compete with it, which I thought I had a right to do, as it could not injure the deceased artist. My painting was the *Dream of Love*, founded on a slight French engraving, but varied and finished from Nature. At the sale of Wertmüller's effects I bought most of his brushes and colors, a large collection of tracings from historical engravings and bid for the *Danaë* as high as fifteen hundred dollars; but it was knocked down at fifty dollars more. I afterwards learned that the highest real bid was for William Hamilton, the artist's pseudo patron and that Mr. Dorsey, the auctioneer, seeing me so openly desirous of having it, was my competitor. A few days after he offered me the picture for \$5,000. He was ignorant of my motive and plan. They were to exhibit my own painting and it together. Dorsey prepared to exhibit his picture to great advantage, and I hastened to display my *Dream of Love* in my own gallery. Our advertisements were together. Visitors came from his room to mine, and went from my room to his—and I was satisfied with the result; especially, as I found Mr. Fulton, no ordinary judge, viewing my picture for more than an hour, and candidly declaring that he had seen nothing done since the days of Titian, to please him so well. Should I suppress this statement and these facts from the dread of being imputed vain?

My picture gave me some reputation, and sufficient profit; but being sold a few years after, it was destroyed by fire from the carelessness of the exhibitor, in Broadway. Wertmüller's *Danaë* was bought by a company of five gentlemen at fifteen hundred dollars. Mr. James McMurtrie, of Philadelphia, was one of them, in whose possession I saw the picture a few years ago.

—REMBRANDT PEALE

POUSSIN, ILLUSTRATOR OF LEONARDO DA VINCI AND THE PROBLEM OF REPLICAS IN POUSSIN'S STUDIO¹

By KATE TRAUMAN STEINITZ

IT sounds like a paradox that the pictorial interpretation of Leonardo's art theory should have been made by anyone but Leonardo himself. However, when in 1651, one hundred and thirty-two years after Leonardo's death, his famous *Treatise on Painting*² came to press it was illustrated by engravings which had very little resemblance to the didactic sketches in Leonardo's manuscripts.

For the twenty figure drawings in the printed edition only a few prototypes can be found in Leonardo's notebooks. Most of them are sketches similar in economy of line to the wiry little pen-stroke man (Figs. 1-4), Codex Atlanticus, fol. 352 v-c³, and to a few others to be found among the Windsor drawings and Manuscript A, an allusion only to the human figures but powerfully demonstrating Leonardo's theory of motion: the axis of the figure is indicated; the change of the center of gravity; the distribution of the weight of the body in violent movement.

More decorative figure compositions were used in manuscript copies of the early seventeenth century⁴ and in the engravings of the printed edition. The pictorial invention of these figure compositions is attributed to Nicolas Poussin. What happened to Leonardo's sketches before they came into the hands of Poussin and what transformation and repetition did they undergo in and after they passed through Nicolas Poussin's studio?

The first interpretation of Leonardo's sketches was by Francesco Melzi in his compilation and transcription of Leonardo's notes, which became the father of all *Trattato* editions: the Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas) 1270 (Fig. 5). Possibly Melzi had more Leonardo drawings to work from than we have today.^{5/6} Melzi tried to render the figures comprehensively, surrounding each one with a clear and closed outline. There are no daring omissions of lines as in Leonardo's spontaneous sketches. The figures are small and unpretentious, about one and a half inches in size.

An abbreviated copy with more crude and awkward figures made for Cardinal Barberini⁷ is now in the Vatican Library. In the first half of the



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

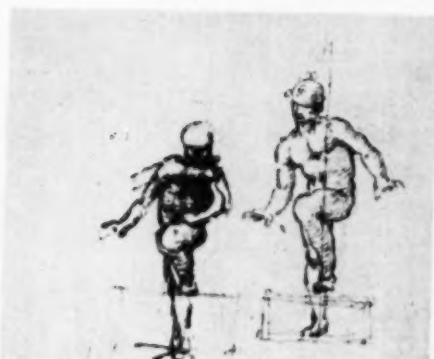


Fig. 3

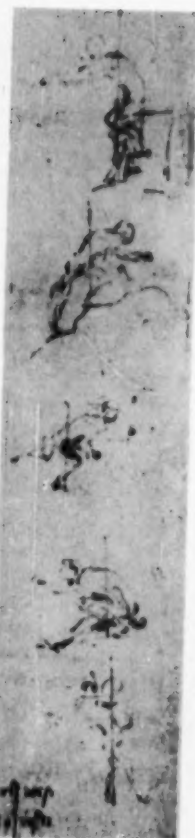


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

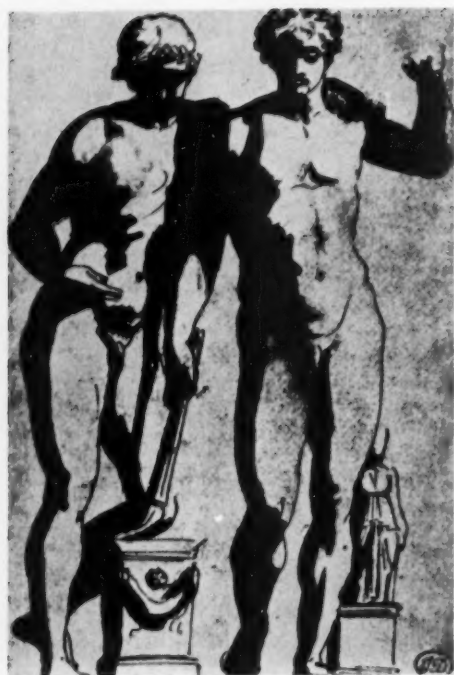


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

seventeenth century the Library of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome, with the circle of intelligentsia around it, developed into a center of distribution of Leonardo's message. The Cardinal, with great liberality, let other collectors share his treasures. He allowed his manuscript to be copied. Thus various copies after or similar to Codex Barberinus originated.

Close to Cardinal Barberini was his friend and secretary Cassiano del Pozzo who, according to a contemporary description, was "a man of vast learning, himself worthy of the Cardinal's purple,"⁸ and close to Pozzo was Nicolas Poussin, the promising French painter who came to Rome in 1624. Félibien continues his vivid description of Pozzo's scholarship in literature, of his love of the fine arts, of his generosity and readiness to sponsor and to protect persons of talent and ability: "Poussin enjoyed Pozzo's friendship—through him Poussin learned of the writings of Leonardo da Vinci which were in the Barberini Library."

Cassiano del Pozzo was a deep and enthusiastic scholar of Leonardo. He desired to amplify Leonardo's texts in the Barberini Library. On his initiative additional chapters of more technical character were transcribed in Milan; Pozzo assembled them in the Codices H 227 and 229 inf. He copied with his own hand another version of the *Trattato della Pittura*, the important H 228 inf.,^{9/10} the diagrams of this manuscript he himself drew with elaborate precision and care. Did he look for an adequate illustrator for the figure drawings? He already envisaged the great project of a printed edition. Melzi's unobvious sketches of the Urbinate Codex no longer satisfied the taste of the day. Leonardo's *Trattato* had to be presented in the grand manner of the baroque. The illustrator of Pozzo's choice was the young and intelligent Nicolas Poussin: "He not only painted what he perceived with his senses, but endeavored to find the reasons for the various types of beauty." Poussin measured the Greek statue of Antinous in order to adapt his own scheme of proportion to theories of the Ancients (Figs. 6, 7). He intended to write a treatise on painting himself, therefore he delved deeply into studies of Leonardo's theoretical work. With the aid of his brother-in-law Gaspar Dughet, he made another transcript of Leonardo's *Trattato* for his own use. Félibien states that "he was not just content with reading but that he drew the figures carefully to make them comprehensible illustrations to the discourse . . . since in Leonardo's script they were only weak sketches."⁸

Poussin¹¹ was reputedly "the painter of reason," an intellectual painter, though never lacking vitality. He conceived his pictorial ideas with strength

and passion but "thought governed his composition." Leonardo's wiry little pen-stroke men were transformed into classic figures that borrow their proportion from Antinous and their volume from statues of Hercules. They posed in classical attitudes against architectural backgrounds or heroic landscapes, interpreting with noble gestures Leonardo's theory of motion.

Gault de St. Germain implies that Poussin made plain line drawings "which the sacrilegious engraver Errard" supplemented with shadings and accessories.¹¹ This is not quite true. Both backgrounds and the washed areas of *clair obscur* shadows are well-disposed elements of Poussin's composition. However, it is true that Errard had to re-design Poussin's wash drawings in order to adapt them to the technique of engraving. In this process he "overloaded" them with hatchings and some additional accessories which made them coarse and awkward (Fig. 10). Poussin's reaction when he saw the result was anger and disgust which he expressed in a famous letter directed to Abraham Bosse:

As to what concerns the book of Leonardo da Vinci it is true that I have drawn the human figures which are in the book belonging to the Chevalier de Puis [del Pozzo] . . . The awkward landscapes behind the human figures in the book which M. de Chambray had caused to be printed have been added by one Errard without my knowing anything about it. All that is good in that book one could write in large characters on one single sheet of paper, and those who believe that I approve of all that is in it do not know me; I who never give sanction to matters of my profession that are ill done and ill said.¹²

It is generally assumed that this severely criticized first printed edition was based on a manuscript copy given by Cassiano del Pozzo in Rome to M. de Chantelou, to be taken to Paris for publication, and that this manuscript is the one now owned by the Marquis de Ganay. However, several manuscripts carry bibliographical notes stating that they are the Chantelou copies with the Poussin originals. One is the Hermitage Manuscript, another H 228 inf. in the Ambrosiana;⁴ another the Noailles MS which is now lost. They all show the same figure compositions, slightly varied in execution. The problem of these repetitions had already intrigued the eminent collector Renouard,¹³ who was the former owner of the Ganay Manuscript. To his surprise he found at Edwards in London in 1815, drawings of a "family likeness" to those in his own manuscript. At first he could not believe that an artist of Poussin's merit would have submitted himself to the task of copying the same drawings. However, he came to the conclusion that the copy which Poussin

had used for himself must have raised the desire of other collectors. Haute-coeur,¹⁴ in describing the Hermitage Manuscript, maintains that Poussin made several replicas on request.

Through the years we have assembled in the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana in Los Angeles a photographic archive of all these manuscript copies. This proved very useful for comparisons of the texts but insufficient for the final judgment of subtle and faded drawings. Only direct studies of the real manuscripts in Europe could clarify this problem. When these studies were carried out in the summer of 1951, in the libraries and collections of Paris, Florence, Milan, Rome and London, a very simple workshop trick was used. From the drawings of Belt Manuscript 36 scale photographs were made and in addition careful tracings on transparent paper. These tracings proved to be very efficient tools. Used as overlays over the figure drawings of the various European manuscripts of the "Poussin family" they fitted exactly in size and outline, though the execution varied considerably. Obviously all of these figure compositions were traced from a master drawing. In each manuscript the character of line and shading showed the hand of another artist who had filled the given form of the traced outline with the touch of his own personal manner. But which manuscript contained the master drawings?

The tracing also gave a very simple clue to another problem: which copies were made before and which were drawn after the printed edition? Figures which appear reversed compared to our tracing must have been drawn from the reversed engravings in the printed edition. For example, the reversed transparency fitted as an overlay drawing in the Manuscript King's 284 in the British Museum, a late manuscript copied from the printed edition. The problem of the reversion becomes complicated in engravings after the engravings, such as appear in Rubens' *Théorie de la figure humaine*, posthumously edited in 1773.¹⁵ Here the compiler used extensively paragraphs and illustrations copied from the first French edition of Leonardo's *Trattato*, 1651.¹⁶ Again the tracing fits, but twice reversed in the engraving process, left and right appear again as in the original drawings (Fig. 24).

Though the engraver Aveline used Errard's engravings with text drawn from Fréart de Chambray's first French edition of Leonardo's *Trattato*, 1651,¹⁶ there is in these crude and almost vulgar drawings an obvious reflection of Rubens' style. Prototypes from Rubens' hand may have existed. It appears as if these figures in the course of changing styles had passed from Leonardo's economy of form through Michelangelesque swelling of muscles to Rubens'

fleshy looseness, while in Poussin's hand the baroque exuberance was disciplined by classic tendencies.

At the time when Poussin's figure compositions originated, one hundred and thirty years had passed since Leonardo introduced his *clair obscur* with scientifically graded shadows to model bodies in relief, eliminating the sharp contour and dissolving the figures in subtle values of his aerial perspective. In the baroque of Poussin the theory of light and shadow had become a well explored and controlled medium in the hands of artists. Light and shadow were used autonomously as compositional elements to dispose of masses and volumes in great pictorial summarizations.

Poussin did not model his figures in detail but used shadow planes and dark areas to build his figures, thus defining the depth of space and the quality of light.¹⁷ Only a few nervous and often interrupted contour lines hold the mass of figure or object (Fig. 8).

We have now to examine the *Trattato* manuscripts of the "Poussin family" to determine which of them resembles most closely these characteristics.

THE GANAY MANUSCRIPT

One of the most important of the manuscript copies of the *Trattato* is the manuscript now in the possession of Marquis Hubert de Ganay in Paris. It has a great pedigree, an uninterrupted list of former owners: Poussin, Chantelou, Molé, Thibaudeau, Renouard, Firmin-Didot, Comtesse de Behague, Marquis de Ganay.

It was taken by M. de Chantelou to Paris to serve as the copy for the first printed edition, together with another manuscript copy. The inspection of the Ganay Manuscript showed that the drawings were subtle and sensitive line drawings modeled with light wash, elaborately done but depending more on the outline than Poussin's original sketches (Figs. 12, 15). In this respect the photographic reproduction seems inadequate. In the photograph the *clair obscur* seems to build the figure, in the original Ganay drawings it appears as though it was filling the contours. Size and outline correspond with our tracings. The paper of the manuscript is faded and brittle; Renouard called it "fatigued." Therefore each page is matted for protection with a care "which one would not bestow on a work of minor importance." The magnificent binding shows the coat-of-arms of the Chancellor Molé. It is said that Poussin himself presented the manuscript to the Chancellor. The manuscript



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 15



Fig. 17



Fig. 14



Fig. 16

doubtlessly originated close to Poussin. Renouard maintains that the entire text was copied by Poussin and his brother-in-law Dughet.

The identification of the handwriting is, of course, another criterion for the attribution of the drawings. Renouard, in his *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'un amateur*,¹⁸ states that he compared the handwritings of his manuscript with letters of Poussin and Dughet in the possession of M. Dufourni. He came to the conclusion that his manuscript "est en entier des deux mêmes écritures de toutes ces missives, c'est à dire de Nic. Poussin et de Duguest son secrétaire." In addition he provides a collation of the contents of his manuscript which corresponds with ours if we presume that Poussin and Dughet (Duguest) acted as scribes: fols. 1-40 and 101 to the end of the text (fol. 115), written by Poussin (Fig. 18); fols. 41-100 written by Poussin's brother-in-law Dughet (Figs. 19 and 21); 116-125 schematic drawings pertaining to "the unedited treatise on fols. 101-115 on perspective, which adds greatly to the interest of the manuscript"; 126-133 the memoirs of the Barnabite Mazenta, and 144-162 the drawings of the treatise. In fact a great change in the character of the manuscript takes place on page 41. Apparently a different kind of ink was used, the lines are completely blurred by corrosion, the paper is partly destroyed, the text is hardly legible. It is hard to say whether the hand of the scribe is different or only the medium used, a disastrous type of ink.

In July, 1951, we compared the handwritings of the Ganay Manuscript with those in the authentic letters of Poussin and Dughet preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁹ In fact there are in this collection a few letters addressed to M. de Chantelou written in a slanting, fluent and regular script, not too remote from fols. 1-40 of the Ganay MS. The famous passage "Il ne se donne point de visible sans lumière . . ." is written in the slanting script (Figs. 22, 23). However, this letter might be a dictation. These letters have been called "lettres du secrétaire" by Ch. Jouanny in his edition of Poussin's correspondence; he attributed them to Jean Dughet, brother of Gaspar.²⁰ The mass of authentic letters shows an entirely different hand, more disciplined, with small and straight characters, one separated from the other in regular spacing (Fig. 20). This handwriting is less fluent but it has a great wealth of refined forms, an order of the page, and a beauty, which actually portrays the painter of reason, the master of clearly conceived composition.

BELT MANUSCRIPT 36 IN THE ELMER BELT LIBRARY OF VINCIANA; THE
HERMITAGE MANUSCRIPT AND MANUSCRIPT H 228 INF. IN THE AMBROSIANA

Another manuscript of the "Poussin family," Belt Manuscript 36, was acquired by the Elmer Belt Library in 1949. The former owner was Marchesa Soragna, née Melzi. This manuscript, now Belt 36, is in a better state of preservation than the Ganay Manuscript. The script is clear and legible. By comparing the text paragraph by paragraph with the Ganay MS it showed a great affinity in text matter. It was not possible to concord word by word, as the middle of the Ganay Manuscript is illegible; however chapter beginnings and endings and legible catchwords in the Ganay Manuscript showed several identical omissions of text, especially at chapter endings. Parts of sentences which appear in the first edition are equally lacking in both manuscripts.

It appears as if Belt Manuscript 36 was copied from the Ganay MS for a discriminating collector, who laid stress on clearness and beauty of calligraphy and layout. The drawings are well fitted into the written pages. They are more decorative than those in the Ganay MS. One page appears to us especially successful (Fig. 13). It contains one of the chapters which were added to the Barberinus text from Leonardo's MS A (then still in the possession of Galeazzo Arconati),¹⁹ illustrated with five graceful figures in motion. These figures can be identified in the column of sketchy figures drawn with the plumb line in MS A folio 28 v.

In the Ganay Manuscript and in H 229 inf. we found slight pencil outlines for the same figures, unfinished, apparently not in Poussin's hand.

Not much can be said about the Hermitage Manuscript,¹⁴ which also contains a note that it was taken to Paris by M. de Chantelou. It is at the present time behind the iron curtain, inaccessible to us. We have to rely on scanty information. Only a few photographs were published by Hauteceur in 1913, without any examples of the script. The figures appear powerful and well-drawn (Fig. 17). They show less accessories than those of the other manuscripts. For instance in the composition of the two men moving a column the Greek vase at the right corner is lacking.

Finally we turn our attention to Manuscript H 228 inf. in the Ambrosiana.²⁰ This is Cassiano del Pozzo's own copy, written and illustrated with diagrams in his own hand. It was used by Gault de St. Germain for his edition of Leonardo's *Trattato*, 1803.¹¹ Gault de St. Germain is convinced that it contains Poussin's original drawings.

The strength and spontaneity of these drawings is surprising (Figs. 9, 11, 14, 16). The figures are built up by *clair obscur* planes and only supplemented by a nervous and often interrupted outline. They are more characteristic of Poussin than the line drawings modeled with wash which we saw in the other manuscripts. The drawings are on small pieces of paper tipped in and partly covering the script. From a craftsman's point of view master drawings made on loose leafs such as these would be more serviceable for tracing and copying than drawings on the manuscript pages. Moreover, in his letter to Bosse,¹² which was previously quoted, Poussin said that he had drawn the human figures that are in the book belonging to del Pozzo. It seems quite convincing that Poussin would have given his original sketches to his sponsor.

In juxtaposing the figure of H 228 inf. (Fig. 9) (Ch. 209 on equilibrium) to Poussin's *Castor and Pollux* drawing (Fig. 6), the likeness becomes evident. The classic form emerges from the same stream of darkness. This flow of darkness drowns the details, spreads over the extremities in a checkerboard pattern. The same sensitive line economically applied indicates, or rather caresses, the form at the side of the light. One would be tempted to make the positive statement that these are the original drawings of Poussin if one link were not missing. The Hermitage Manuscript remains inaccessible, though according to newspaper reports it was exhibited in Leningrad during 1952, the quincentennial year of Leonardo's birth.

It is amazing that in the vast Poussin literature very little attention has been given to Poussin the illustrator of Leonardo. We hope that we have with this brief essay stimulated the Poussin scholars of today to help us towards a more concise and definitive solution of our problem.

¹ Paper read at the Congrès de Léonard de Vinci arranged by the Association Internationale des Historiens de la Renaissance, Val de Loire, July 8-13, 1952.

² Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato della pittura . . . nuovamente dato in luce da Raffaello du Fresne*, Paris, 1651.

³ *Il Codice Atlantico nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, Milan, 1894-1904.

⁴ (a) MS H 228 inf. in the Ambrosiana. Paper; 129 l; 29.5 x 21 cm. Cassiano del Pozzo's own copy; (b) MS in the possession of Marquis Hubert de Ganay. Paper; 162 l; 24 x 17 cm. (size of matted leaves); (c) Belt MS 36 in the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana. Paper; 143 l; 22 x 15 cm. These manuscripts contain the 365 chapters of the *Trattato*, some chapters from Leonardo's MSS added by Cassiano del Pozzo and Arconati and copies of the Mazzenta *Memorie*; (d) MS 84, No. 17, in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Bibliographic descriptions unavailable.

⁵ *Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas) 1270 in the Vatican Library*. Paper; 331 l; 20.4 x 15 cm.; *Disegni che illustrano l'opera della pittura di Leonardo da Vinci trattati fedelmente degli originali del Codice Vaticano*, Rome, 1817 (picture volume of the Melzi edition); *Leonardo da Vinci, Das Buch von der Malerei nach dem Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas) 1270 herausgegeben von Heinrich Ludwig*, Vienna, 1882.

⁶ Leonardo's preserved figure sketches for the *Trattato della Pittura*. Only in Cod. Atl., 352 v and in MS A, 28 v, can one easily recognize the exact prototypes for Poussin's figures in motion reproduced here in Figures 10-13. However, a great number of figure sketches in Windsor and other manuscripts are in close relation to the *Trattato* and may have been used by Melzi and Poussin. We list other figures in motion: Windsor 12639 r; 12641 v; 12648 r; 12707 r; 12708 r; 12724 r; 12691 v; 19038 v; 19070 r; MS H, 75 r; MS L, 27 v; S. M. K. (Forster), II^o, 45 v. Leaves with crowds and groups of figures in motion: Windsor 12644 r—12646 v; 19149 v. Proportion and perspective studies of the figure: Windsor 19132 r; MS A, 38 v. Studies of the male figure standing, related to anatomic studies: Windsor 12593; 12594; 12596; 12640. Studies showing classic influence: Windsor 12591 r; 12631 v; 12638. Also to this group belong the small fragments of leaves: Windsor 12717-12725.

⁷ *Codex Barb. Lat. 4304 (formerly Barberinus 832) in the Vatican Library*. Paper; 110 l; 26 x 19 cm. An abbreviated version of Cod. Vat. (Urbinas) 1270, containing the 365 chapters used in the printed edition of 1651.

⁸ André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1696 (2nd ed.), II, 322 and 324 ff.

⁹ MS H 227 inf. in the Ambrosiana. Paper; 124 l; 30 x 20 cm. containing three manuscripts with chapters on hydraulics and mechanics and the original manuscript of Ambrosio Mazzenta's *Memorie*; MS H 229 inf. in the Ambrosiana. Paper; 122 l; 30 x 21 cm. containing one manuscript with chapters of Manuscript A pertaining to the *Trattato* and two manuscripts with chapters on geophysics, hydraulics and mechanics.

¹⁰ MSS H 227, 229 and 228 inf. in the Ambrosiana were transferred to the Institut de France by Napoleon in 1796, with Leonardo's notebooks A—M and Codex Atlanticus. After Napoleon's defeat the Cod. Atl. was restored to the Ambrosiana. The MSS copies H 227, 229 and 228 inf. were returned instead of the original MSS A—M.

¹¹ G. P. Bellori, *La vite de Pittori*, Rome, 1672; *ibid.*, *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Genève, 1947; Gault de St. Germain, *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1806; Gault de St. Germain, ed., *Traité de la peinture de Léonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1803, preface p. xiii. St. Germain based this edition upon MS H 228 inf. which he thought was the most correct transcription of Leonardo's *Trattato*. Martha Graham, *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin*, London, 1820.

¹² *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin publiée par Ch. Jouanny*, Paris, 1911. (Archives de l'Art Français V), pp. 419-421, Letter 185. *Sur l'écriture des lettres de Poussin*, pp. 498-499.

¹³ Auguste Renouard, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'un amateur*, Paris, 1819, I, 320-323; Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Catalogue des livres précieux, manuscrits et imprimés*, Paris, 1882, pp. 59-73, quoting from the entry in Renouard's catalogue.

¹⁴ Louis Hauteceur, "Poussin, illustrateur de Léonard de Vinci," *Bulletin de l'histoire de l'art français*, Paris, 1913, and the Russian version in Starye Godoy, March, 1913.

¹⁵ Peter Paul Rubens, *Théorie de la figure humaine*, Paris, 1773.

¹⁶ *Traité de la peinture de Léonard de Vinci traduit par R[oland] F[réart] s[ieur] d[e] C[hambrey]* Paris, 1651.

¹⁷ Walter Friedlaender, "Nicolas Poussin," *Die Entwicklung seiner Kunst*, 1914; *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1939.

¹⁸ *Codex Fr. 12347 in the Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

¹⁹ Enrico Carusi, *Lettere di Galeazzo Arconati e Cassiano del Pozzo . . .*, Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia, III (1929), 6.

²⁰ We are grateful to Professor L. H. Heydenreich who first directed our attention to the importance of MS H 228 inf., and to Professor Walter Friedlaender who examined the drawings with us in the Ambrosiana in July, 1951.

N.B. The drawings in Windsor Castle are reproduced with the gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.

- Fig. 1. LEONARDO DA VINCI
Codex Atlanticus, fol. 352 v-c
- Fig. 2. LEONARDO DA VINCI
Windsor 12708 r
- Fig. 3. LEONARDO DA VINCI
Windsor 19038 v
- Fig. 4. LEONARDO DA VINCI
MS A (2172) fol. 28 v
- Fig. 5. FRANCESCO MELZI
Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas)
1270, fol. 120
- Fig. 6. NICOLAS POUSSIN (?), *Castor et Pollux d'après l'antique*. From *Félibien, Entretiens . . .*, Vézenaz, Genève, Pierre Cailler, 1947
- Fig. 7. Engraving after Poussin's measurements of Antinous. From G. P. Bellori, *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Vézenaz, Genève, Pierre Cailler, 1947
- Fig. 8. NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Cain and Abel*. Pen and bistre wash, 66 x 85 mm. Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana
- Fig. 9. Ambrosiana, MS H 228 inf., Chapter 209: "Of the equilibrium of figures"
- Fig. 10. *Trattato della Pittura*, Paris, Langlois, 1651, Chapter 182: "Of the movements of man." Engraved after Leonardo-Poussin by Errard
- Fig. 11. Ambrosiana, MS H 228 inf., same figure
- Fig. 12. MS Ganay, same figure
- Fig. 13. MS Belt 36, *Quello che piu corre* — "He who runs . . . carries his weight," P. 214
- Fig. 14. Ambrosiana, MS H 228 inf., Chapters 197/8: "In what manner extending one arm alters the balance"; "Counterpost"
- Fig. 15. MS Ganay, same figures
- Fig. 16. Ambrosiana, MS H 228 inf., Chapter 239: "In which the two actions, pulling or pushing a man has the greatest power?"
- Fig. 17. Leningrad, Hermitage same figures
- Fig. 18. MS Ganay, Handwriting 1 Poussin (?)
- Fig. 19. MS Ganay, Handwriting 2 Dughet (?)
- Fig. 20. Original handwriting of Poussin Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. 12347
- Fig. 21. Original handwriting of Dughet Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. 12347
- Figs. 22 and 23
The "Secretary's handwriting," Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. 12347
- Fig. 24. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Théorie de la Figure Humaine, 1773
Engraving by P. Aveline
- Fig. 25. Leningrad, Hermitage
"Figure running against the wind"

ART TREASURES OF JAPAN

A REVIEW OF THE TRAVELING EXHIBITION OF JAPANESE PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

By JAMES M. PLUMER

THIRTY thousand people poured through the Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, when the doors were thrown open on Sunday, January 25, 1953. This was the beginning, we predict, of a constant stream which will flow more or less continuously for an entire year, for the Exhibition is also scheduled for showings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Seattle Art Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, and finally, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It consists of ninety of Japan's finest and most loved artistic treasures. Seventy-seven of these, catalogued under "painting," present an astounding array of horizontal and vertical scrolls, screens, *fusuma*, albums and fans. The sculptures, thirteen in number, plus five *gigaku* masks, while regrettably few, are in unbelievably fine condition and of the very highest quality.

There can be no doubt as to the diplomatic hopes and purposes of the Exhibition, which, under the patronage of Prince and Princess Takamatsu, boasts an honorary twelve-man committee, which includes four Japanese ministers of state, three United States cabinet members and the Ambassadors of America and Japan. Under the broad sponsorship of the Government of Japan are two active sponsoring units, the Japanese Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties, and a Committee formed of the directors of the five exhibiting American museums. The selection of the objects, all of which were borrowed from Japan, was entrusted to the combined wisdom and tact of the aforementioned Commission and a special three-man Committee representing the American museums, composed of Messrs. Archibald G. Wenley, Alan Priest and Langdon Warner. Even though the Committee met with generosity on every hand, theirs was a difficult problem. In effect Japan said, "You may have our best." Yet it was necessary to consider whether an object could stand the rigors of the journey, the changes of climate, and the glare of exhibition lights; whether it would appeal to the American eye, and whether the owner could fairly be asked to part with it for more than a year. Several treasures, including the Yakushi-ji colossal *Sho-Kannon*, it is understood, would will-

ingly have been loaned had they not been required for specific religious festivals.

It so happens that religious institutions form the largest group of lenders. In some cases worshipers have actually been denied the use of images in order that museum-goers may be enlightened. The eighth century lacquered wooden image of Buddha is a case in point (Fig. 1). To the reviewer's certain knowledge it had at some time or other to be carried bodily by loving hands down the steep twisting path from the mountainous sacred precincts of the Jingoji to the nearest road in a gully far below. Quite surprisingly, a twenty-two foot section of the famed *Kitano Tenjin Engi*, semi-historical illustrated account of the shrine's own deified hero Michizane, was allowed to come. It is one of Japan's earliest and most powerfully executed narrative scrolls; and it is but one of several in the Exhibition.

From private collections, also, come many prized works, among which are two magnificent seventeenth century folding screens depicting Westerners in Japan, loaned by His Majesty the Emperor. Of several public institutions, the Tokyo National Museum (formerly known as the Imperial Household Museum, and more recently as the National Museum, Tokyo) is the heaviest lender. This museum has loaned the services of Mr. Masao Ishizawa and four assisting curators, and Mr. Jiro Harada has been sent as a special representative.

Without a doubt this is the most ambitious exhibition ever to come to the United States from Japan, being comparable to that sent to Berlin in 1939. With one notable exception, perhaps no finer exhibition of Japanese art has ever been held, being, we believe, second only to the very much larger though little publicized Retrospective Exhibition of Japanese Culture held at the National Museum, Tokyo, March to May, 1948. Most of the objects now being shown, indeed, were among the exhibits on that great occasion five years ago. Let us then turn to these treasures.

A glittering splendor greets the visitor as he steps into the superbly arranged exhibition at the National Gallery. In the first few steps he finds himself all but surrounded on four sides by many paneled folding screens and sliding wall panels (*fusuma*) painted in bright pigment on gold. Greeting him with mock horror are the well-known *Wind and Thunder Gods* of Sotatsu (Fig. 9). This golden glory of screens from the Momoyama period (1568-1615) to Maruyama Okyo (1733-1795) is repeated at intervals throughout the Exhibition and, combined with ever varying decorative motifs, invites the wanderer and never disappoints. The atmosphere of the palace is felt.

But the mood of the show changes. In a few steps one becomes lost in an atmosphere of twelfth and thirteenth century history emanating from a treasure trove of the world's finest narrative scrolls. Here one sees the Ban-Dainagon epic, and sections of the *Kitano Tenjin Engi*, *Ippen Shonin E-den* and *Heiji Monogatari* (some twenty-seven more feet of painting to be "added" to the more familiar Boston piece). Here, too, one sees the most delightful of all caricatures, the Kozanji's Rabbits, Frogs and Monkeys, traditionally ascribed to Toba Sojo (Fig. 7), and the quaintly pictured story of the Buddha's life, an eighth century *Inga Kyo* from the Jobon Rendaiji, Kyoto (Fig. 8).

Beyond this, one beholds the massive natural wooden image of *Shubo-o Bosatsu* (from the Toshodai-ji), its seven feet of height innocent of any ornament except that of the carver's skill. Drawn into his presence the visitor finds himself surrounded by vibrant Buddhism. In the one small gallery he beholds two seventh century bronze *Miroku* of gentle mien (one of them curiously catalogued as "humorous"), and one of the famed six Suiko *Kannon* of gilded wood from the Horyuji (Fig. 2), and on the well-lighted walls behind are these paintings: the terrific fiery *Muryo Rikiku*, some ten feet high, from Koyasan; two twelfth century portraits of Gonzo, Kobo Daishi's teacher; and Jikaku, Dengyo Daishi's disciple; and rarest of all, the ninth century Saidaiji painting of Indra on a six-tusked elephant.

Appropriately, near the heart of the Exhibition is one of the most perfect painted Buddha images that has come down to us, the twelfth century *Shaka Nyorai* from the Jingoji. Its controlled taut-wire line, subtle glowing color and delicate gold leaf ornament (*kirigane*) preserve remarkably the original aesthetic effect. The atmosphere of the Exhibition here is charged with esoteric Buddhism, the furious multi-armed and multi-headed icons being as striking to the eye and puzzling to the mind of the uninitiated layman today as they were in the twelfth century. Superb examples shown include the *Gozanze Myo-o* from the To-ji and the *Dai-itoku Myo-o* from the Nezu collection. However fine the National Museum's Senju *Kannon* may be, its essential characteristics, the eleven faces and most of the many arms, are all but invisible to the museum visitor. It is a pity that this marvelous concept of Divine Mercy so popular in Japan and so typical of her culture could not have been presented clearly to the people of America, and surely the Sanjusangen-do would have loaned one. Still, the art world will long remember this unique assemblage of great twelfth century religious painting.

There comes at this point in the show even as there came in thirteenth



*Fig. 1. Yakushi Nyorai (8th Century, Tempyo Period)
Kyoto, Jingoji*



*Fig. 2. Kannon Bosatsu (7th Century, Suiko Period) (detail)
Nara, Horyuji*



*Fig. 3. HASEGAWA TOHAKU, Monkeys in Bamboo Grove
(17th Century, Late Momoyama Period) (portion)
Kyoto, Shokokuji*



*Fig. 4. KANO, Kanzan
(14th Century, Ashikaga Period)
Kanagawa, Nagao Museum*

century Japan a welcome change for the simple-minded. Difficult iconography gives way to visions of Heaven and Hell. The viewer now revels in the Japanese ability to delineate flames and long noses, to bring worldly subjects and even landscapes into sacred paintings. Among the Kamakura masterpieces that thus, for the art lover and worshiper alike, coördinate worldly and other-worldly things, is the well-known *Yama Goshi Raigo*, "Amida Rising of the Hills to Welcome Souls," replete with its lesser-known flanking screens. Almost unknown and rarely seen is Mr. Murayama's *Nika Byakudo*, which depicts a straight and narrow white path between a river of fire (passion) and water (greed). Among the pure souls approaching the path to Paradise one almost expects to find Blake and Dante. The formal celestial realm above is given a totally different treatment from the informal world of pain and pleasure below. Artistically two schools, formal Buddhist and Yamato-é, are embodied in one painting. Fra Angelico a century or so later knew the same device.

To move on with the exhibit we approach the stylistically and ideologically very different world of Zen, where the gods of Buddhism and the colors of Yamato-é are gone and nothing is left but bare essentials. The Kozanji's thirteenth century portrait of the *Priest Myo-e* meditating in a pine tree (Fig. 6) foretells the trend.

Two notable "portraits" of the jolly *Kanzan* by Ka-o (Nagao Museum) (Fig. 4) and by Resai, anonymously loaned, and Bunsei's strong-faced *Yuima Koji* from Osaka show what the thought and brushwork of the Ashikaga period could do for man's portrayal of himself. What it could do for all Nature is seen in Sesshu's monumentally conceived *Summer* and *Winter*, in actual fact only a foot and a half high, and likewise in Sesson's wonderful *Wind and Waves*.

In the world of birds and beasts scattered through the show none anywhere can top Ryozen's *Heron*, owned by Mr. Asano, or Sesson's famous hawks or the Nagao Museum's *Shrike* by Miyamoto Niten, nor the monkeys on Tohaku's screen from the Shokokuji (Fig. 3).

Occasionally, while wandering from gallery to gallery or world to world (or style to style, for those who prefer it so), one meets real people. A child of five destined to become Kobo Daishi; Minamoto Yoritomo seated in dignity; a poetess with tresses like a deep black river; the Chinese priest Hsüan Tsang, the teacher of a samurai and alluring maidens of the transient scene.

For the many names and dates and facts which we must here omit, as well as for an excellent ten page survey and good illustrations of every object

shown, we recommend the Catalogue, obtainable first at the National Gallery and successively at each museum where the Exhibition is to be shown.

Mentally reviewing the Exhibition as a whole, the significance comes clear. This quality, this glory, this humor, this terror, this joy, this peace that we have felt in response to one painting or another, this piety that has touched us as the caster or carver of the image planned, is from the cultural apex and has nothing in it of folk art or the work of common man. For that, in years to come, another exhibition. All this is the splendor and the delicacy that has its source in the upper levels of the spiritual and temporal hierarchies. Let us then, even in these days of democracy, bow in humble recognition of aristocratic Beauty. And let us accordingly acknowledge an endless debt to the people of Japan.



Fig. 5. KOBEN, *Lantern-bearing Goblin* (A.D. 1215, Kamakura Period) (detail)
Nara, Kofukuji



Fig. 6. ATTRIBUTED TO PRIEST JONIN
Priest Myo-e (13th Century, Kamakura Period) (portion)
Kyoto, Kozanji



Fig. 7. ATTRIBUTED TO TOBA SOJO, *Animal Scroll* (12th Century, Fujiwara Period)
(portion)
Kyoto, Kozanji



Fig. 8. *Illustrated Story of Buddha* (8th Century, Suiko style) (portion)
Kyoto, Johon Rendaiji

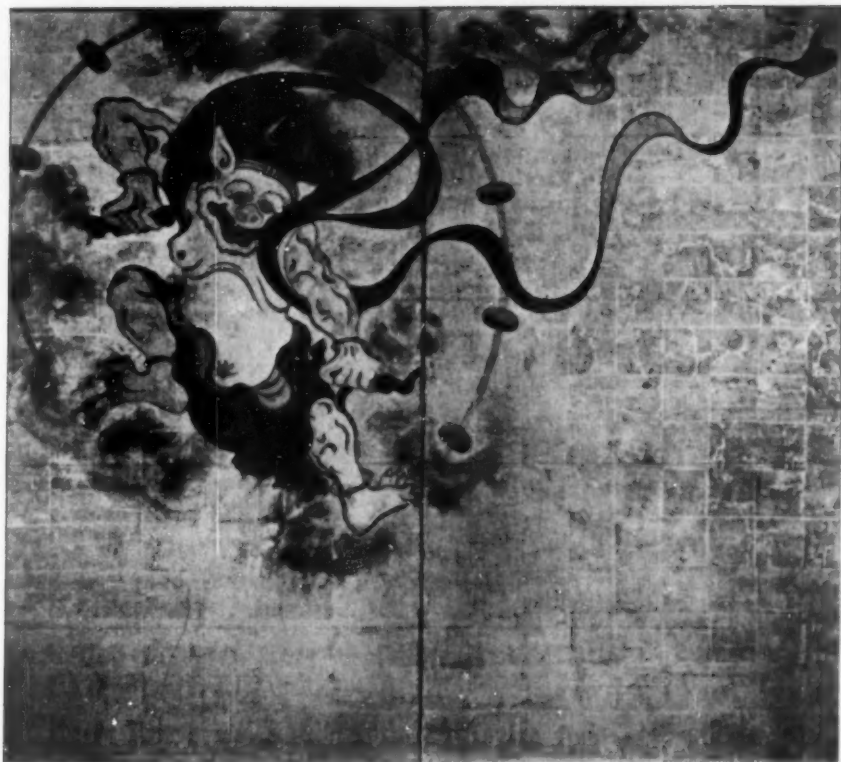


Fig. 9. TAWARAYA SOTATSU
Wind God and Thunder God (17th Century, Edo Period)
 Kyoto, Kenninji

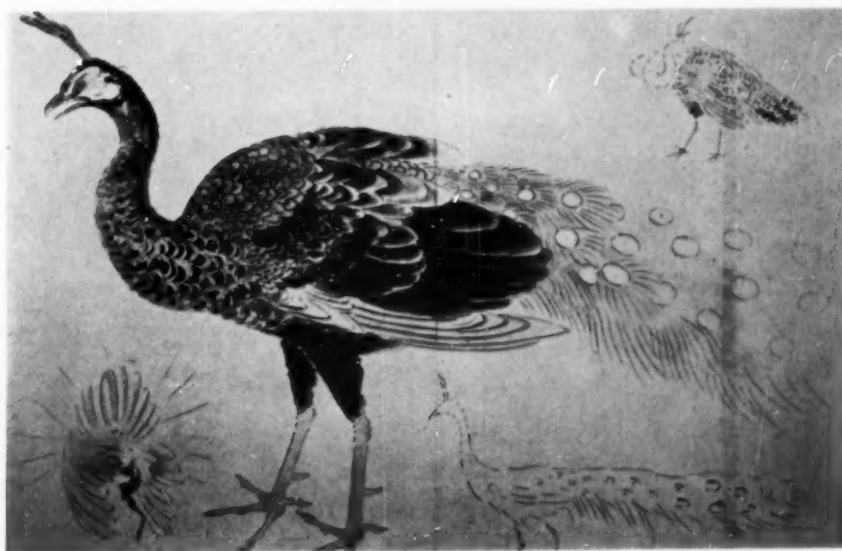


Fig. 10. OGATA KORIN
Sketches of Birds (17th to 18th Century, Edo Period)
 Tokyo, Mr. Zenjuro Watanabe



*Fig. 1. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Portrait of a Gentleman
New York, Private Collection*



*Fig. 2. PETER PAUL RUBENS
The Geographer, New York
Jack Linsky Collection*



Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1

SHORTER NOTES:

AN EARLY PORTRAIT BY RUBENS

By W. R. VALENTINER

WE may ask whether the two small neighboring countries, Holland and the Southern provinces, could have produced so great a wealth of original artists in the seventeenth century, and developed their national and individual style to so high a degree, if there had not been at the beginning an "iron curtain" drawn between the two nations, due to the Spanish-Netherlandish war. When the armistice of 1609 allowed a limited intercourse between the artists of the two countries, the first generation of the new movement, to which Rubens belonged in Flanders and Frans Hals in Holland, had already formed its own style in isolation.

It is interesting to see how the "iron curtain" affected even the art of the refugees who emigrated for religious or economic reasons from one country to the other, from Flanders to Holland, and vice versa. They accepted as far as possible the national characteristics of their adopted country, although they could not quite eliminate traits brought with them from their homeland. Two examples will illustrate this. Frans Hals, whose family emigrated from Malines to Haarlem, became a Hollander, yet he kept Flemish elements in his art throughout his life. On the other hand, Otto van Veen, the teacher of Rubens, who emigrated as an exile from Leiden to Antwerp, adopted there the monumental style characteristic of the Antwerp school; yet he shows in his heavy compositions and slow-moving figures Dutch traits which he seems to have transmitted to Rubens.

The restraint which Otto van Veen forced upon the exuberant temperament of the young Rubens was undoubtedly to the good of the pupil. It was, of course, impossible to suppress his vitality completely, as we can learn from one of his earliest portraits published here (Fig. 1), which at first looks like one of the many anonymous Dutch portraits of the transition period, but in the most vital parts, especially the head and hands, the hidden intensity of the master is revealed.

The earliest period of Rubens is the one least known. It was, indeed, short,

lasting only three years from 1597 to his departure for Italy in 1600. A number of portraits have been attributed to this period. But as Dr. Burchard rightly remarked,¹ they are of such heterogeneous character that we feel on very uncertain ground if we accept them all. We have to start, therefore, with the only authentic portrait, *The Geographer* of 1597 in the Jack Linsky Collection, New York (Fig. 2).² I believe the one here represented (Fig. 1) is so similar in style that there will be no opposition to its attribution to Rubens.³ The head is placed at the same angle and with the same distribution of light and shadow upon the collar; the eyes have the same side-long look, and an intelligent, if not to say wary, expression; the design of the ear and the thin beard with transparent strands falling upon the collar, are strikingly alike.

The juxtaposition of the reproductions is in one respect deceptive. The Linsky portrait is small, miniature-like, painted on copper; the other is life-like, broader in execution and painted on canvas—a proof that the master even in his earliest period did not change his style essentially, regardless of material and size of the painting.

It should be noticed that each half-length portrait shows both hands and that these hands act independently, as if they were living organisms moving in different directions. The left hands are formed like a shell (seen in the small portrait from the inside; in the large, from the outside) (Fig. 3), or better like a mollusk whose tentacles are moving by themselves in varied directions. The right hands, although less active, likewise seem to move forward, following the forward-creeping forefinger. This independent action of the hands is a sign of extraordinary temperament in the painter, whose instinct unconsciously leads him to expand in every direction. (It can be found in other great masters of similar temperament, for instance Rodin: witness his *St. John the Baptist* who preaches, at the same time, with head, hands and feet and whose two hands are working in two entirely different directions.)

In the larger portrait the connection with the sixteenth century conception of Van Veen's portraits is still more obvious, for the artist introduces the old motif of the right hand resting upon the arm of a chair, a device used frequently by Antonis Mor. While the view from above is thus more apparent in this portrait, emphasized by the angular position of its right arm, in the small portrait also one can observe a tendency to flatten out the figure on the left side (seen from the spectator), a tendency which in the final analysis goes back to the medieval front-plane relief conception. However, the left hand of the larger portrait shows a remarkable foreshortening and a plastic model-

ing from light to dark, giving trembling life to even the smallest part, which clearly reveals the interest in depth, movement and volume characteristic of the new baroque age.

¹ L. Burchard, *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1929, p. 139.

² Reproduced in J. H. Goris and J. S. Held, *Rubens in America*, 1947, pl. I. The name of Rubens in the inscription on the back of the painting is contemporary but probably not by Rubens himself, as he did not become a member of the guild until 1598 and it was not customary to sign paintings before acceptance in the guild.

³ On canvas H. 38¾ inches; W. 27 inches; a coat-of-arms, formerly in the left upper corner, turned out to be a later addition.

DANS CE NUMÉRO

DEUX MODÈLES DE FONTAINE DU BERNIN

par E. P. Richardson

Les deux *bozzetti* du Bernin, longtemps conservés dans la collection Berl à Vienne, ne sont pas inconnus puisqu'ils ont été reproduits dans l'ouvrage classique de Brinckmann et, à diverses reprises, dans des revues anglaises. Jusqu'à présent ces *bozzetti* ont été considérés comme des modèles qui interprétaient les premières pensées du Bernin pour la fontaine du *Moro* de la Place Navone à Rome. M. Richardson suggère dans le présent article que les *bozzetti* de Detroit sont au contraire des modèles préliminaires pour une autre fontaine, qui peut être la fontaine exécutée par le Bernin pour les jardins de la villa Mattei.

LA VENTE DE L'ATELIER DE WERTMÜLLER

par Michel Benisovich

Adolphe Wertmüller, le peintre suédois qui exposa à Paris avant la Révolution, résida pendant une quinzaine d'années aux États-Unis. Il possédait une large collection de tableaux qui fut vendue aux enchères après sa mort en 1811. Dans son article M. Benisovich étudie le catalogue de cette collection, qui est en fait le plus ancien catalogue

d'une vente d'art aux États-Unis, et nous renseigne sur le sort de certaines des œuvres vendues, par exemple un petit panneau, "French Noblesse," qui est aujourd'hui attribué à Corneille de Lyon (Rochester Memorial Art Gallery) et le chef-d'œuvre de Wertmüller, sa *Danaé*, qui eut longtemps aux États-Unis un succès de scandale.

POUSSIN, ILLUSTRATEUR DE LÉONARD DE VINCI

par Kate Trauman Steinitz

Lorsque le *Trattato della Pittura* du Vinci fut publié pour la première fois (en 1651), il était illustré de dessins qui ne ressemblaient que peu aux esquisses du maître. La composition de ces dessins est attribuée à Poussin. Dans son article, Mme. Steinitz étudie les transformations subies par les dessins originaux, caractérisés par leur simplicité, qui furent d'abord interprétés par Francesco Melzi (dans le *Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas)* 1270, la source de toutes les éditions du *Traité*). Une copie moins complète, avec des figures plus médiocres, fut exécutée pour le cardinal Barberini, dont la bibliothèque fut au 17^e siècle un centre d'études léonardesques. Ce manuscrit, le "Codex Barberinus," qui se trouve aujourd'hui au Vatican, fut copié à diverses reprises. Dans l'entourage du cardinal se trouvait le savant Cassiano del Pozzo,

qui s'intéressa vivement à la publication du *Trattato*. Les dessins de Melzi dans le Codex Vaticanus Urbina ne pouvaient plus contenter le goût du 17^e siècle. Pour l'illustration du *Trattato*, Pozzo s'adressa à son ami Poussin, qui lui-même songeait à écrire un traité sur la peinture. Poussin exécuta donc l'illustration du *Trattato*. Il existe plusieurs manuscrits (qui tous ont été considérés comme l'original contenant les dessins de Poussin) : à l'Hermitage; à l'Ambrosienne; chez le Marquis de Ganay; un autre, aujourd'hui perdu, se trouvait dans la collection de Noailles. Mme. Steinitz étudie avec soin ces manuscrits (en particulier le manuscrit Ganay) de même qu'un autre manuscrit, acquis en 1949 par la Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana, qui semble avoir été copié sur le manuscrit Ganay.

LE SYMBOLISME DES QUATRE BÊTES À CEYLON

par Benjamin Rowland, Jr.

Les wahalkadas, qui donnent aux stupas de Ceylon leur caractère particulier, sont des projections rectangulaires, en briques recouvertes de pierre, placées aux quatre points du compas à la base de ces stupas. Les wahalkadas ont une valeur d'orientation symbolique, qui en certains cas est rendue évidente par l'introduction de stèles placées aux quatre points cardinaux-l'éléphant, le bœuf, le cheval et le lion. Dans son article M. Rowland suggère que ces wahalkadas représentent symboliquement les portails qui donnent accès à la Ville de Cakravartin et du Bouddha.

UN DES PREMIERS PORTRAITS DE RUBENS

par W. R. Valentiner

On sait peu de choses des premières années de l'activité du Rubens, de 1597 à 1600. On connaît cependant plusieurs portraits de cette époque, par exemple "Le Géographe" de la collection Jack Linsky (New York). Le portrait inédit publié ici par M. Valentiner est si semblable à celui du "Géographe" qu'il est impossible de ne pas l'attribuer à Rubens. Ce nouveau portrait est encore très proche d'Otto van Veen, avec un motif cher à Antonio Moro — la main droite du modèle reposant sur le bras du fauteuil — alors que la main gauche, bien modelée, et d'un raccourci remarquable, fait déjà penser au baroque.

L'EXPOSITION D'ART JAPONAIS AUX ÉTATS-UNIS

par James M. Plumer

Pendant une année entière, certains musées des États-Unis (Washington, New York, Chicago, Boston, Seattle) vont présenter à leur public un ensemble extraordinaire de chefs-d'œuvre d'art japonais, tous provenant de collections japonaises, qui ne peut être comparé qu'à l'exposition de Berlin en 1939. Dans son étude M. Plumer commente cette exposition (plus riche encore en peintures qu'en sculpture), qui présente un tableau aussi complet que possible de l'art japonais, grâce aux emprunts faits aux collections privées et aux monastères japonais.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

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By JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
THE FIRST.
FROM HIS MAJESTY'S DEPARTURE FROM
PARIS, IN 1620, TO HIS RETURN
IN 1625.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
THE SECOND.
FROM HIS RETURN IN 1625, TO HIS
DEATH IN 1649.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
THE THIRD.
FROM HIS DEATH IN 1649, TO HIS
REBURYAL IN 1660.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON, Printed by J. Streater, at the
Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, in
the Strand, 1682.

THE SECOND VOLUME.
FROM HIS RETURN IN 1625, TO HIS
DEATH IN 1649.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
THE THIRD.
FROM HIS DEATH IN 1649, TO HIS
REBURYAL IN 1660.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE THIRD.
FROM HIS DEATH IN 1649, TO HIS
REBURYAL IN 1660.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



*Embroidered Lenten Veil, German, XIII Century (H. 4' 11")
The Cleveland Museum of Art*

A ROMANESQUE LENTEN CLOTH FROM GERMANY

From an article by Dorothy G. Shepherd in *The Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, January, 1953

St. Elizabeth of Hungary, landgravin of Thuringia, died in 1231. So great had been her piety and good works among the poor and needy that by 1235 she was beatified. Elizabeth had taken her daughter Gertrude to the Abbey of Altenberg on the Lahn, where she became Abbess in 1248, remaining so until her death in 1297. The nuns of Altenberg, especially under the rule of Gertrude, were skilled in the embroidery of white linen liturgical cloths, the so-called *weissstickereien* for which German nuns were justly famous and which were called *opera Theotonico* in medieval inventories. Three important examples of these Altenberg embroideries have been preserved. One now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art probably dates from the early fourteenth century, soon after the death of Gertrude. Another, still in the Iklé Collection, is perhaps later in date. The earliest, surely dating from the time of Gertrude's rule, has recently been acquired from the Iklé Collection by The Cleveland Museum of Art through the J. H. Wade Fund. The three pieces passed into the possession of the Duke of Solms-Braunfels when in 1806 Napoleon I secularized the monastery and gave it to the Duke as compensation for the loss of his possessions in Lorraine. They were still in the possession of this family in 1880 when they were exhibited at Dusseldorf, but later passed into the famous Iklé Collection in St. Gall, Switzerland.

The Metropolitan embroidery was clearly intended for use as an altar cloth, whereas the Cleveland cloth, because of its design, seems more likely to have been intended for use as a

Lenten veil, or *fastentuch*. Such cloths, also known as *bungetuchs*, were generally used to separate the chancel from the nave during the Lenten season. These were large in size and the existing ones generally measure six to eight meters, but other smaller ones were also used to conceal the crosses, retables, and the altar itself. It is probable that the Museum's cloth was intended for such use.

Although of one color these German "white embroideries" achieved a rich polychrome effect by the use of a great variety of stitches and patterns. In the Cleveland cloth there are seven different stitches (satin, stem, Florentine, lace, chain, surface buttonhole, and square stitch) combined and recombined in an infinite variety of patterns and designs. The principal figures, however, are worked as large flat areas in which the change from surface buttonhole stitch to stem stitch gives the only effect of modeling or detail. They are in great contrast to the figures in the Metropolitan Museum's altar cloth which have detailed facial features and a rich variety of textile patterns. This lack of detail is probably explained by the fact that the figures of the Cleveland piece, designed to hang against the light of the apse windows, would be seen as shadowy silhouettes by the worshipers.

The general character of the design, the drawing, the primitive handling of certain motives, for example, the wings of St. Michael; the stiff straight folds of the garments which foretell nothing of the Gothic folds soon to be used in the Metropolitan cloth; the curious form of the Bishop's chasuble, mitre, and *rationale episcoporum*; the animals, seemingly copies from a medieval bestiary; and the round arches with the animal-head capitals in the border design are all in pure Romanesque style and point to a thirteenth century date, probably soon after Gertrude became Abbess in 1248.

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*St. John the Evangelist,
Swabian (H. 58")
Richmond, The Virginia Museum
of Fine Arts*



*GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO, Christ Healing the Blind
(28 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ ")
Hartford, Conn., The Wadsworth Atheneum*

A POLYCHROMED WOOD SCULPTURE OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

From an article in *The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*,
Volume XIII, No. 4, 1952

Because it combines gracefulness with expressive vitality, the sculpture produced by the religious woodcarvers who flourished in Swabia during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has long been greatly admired. In this region of Germany, near Lake Constance at the foot of the Bavarian Alps, many artists of ability, whose names have been lost in the devotional anonymity of their work, were supported by church patrons of the rich towns.

The Swabian sculptures were created at a time when the rise of Protestantism in northern Europe resulted in a great emphasis upon personal religious experience. Derived from the more abstract style of the Gothic cathedrals, the wood carvings evolved into a distinctive style, typically German in its emotional content. In this respect the work of the Swabian school differs greatly from the art of the contemporary Italians who were developing their more intellectual Renaissance style according to classic standards.

The almost life-sized figures of polychromed wood were usually part of an altarpiece whose painted background provided their setting and from which they seemed to step forward as from a painting. Their faces were mirrors of religious sentiment which—rather than bodily structure or motion—appeared to animate the draperies.

The statue of St. John the Evangelist was probably a pendant to the figure of the Virgin in an altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Its mystical beauty and its importance as an example of the

Swabian school make this statue an outstanding gift to Virginia from the Museum's Williams Fund.

"CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND" BY GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO

From an article by S. G. Peck in the *Wadsworth Atheneum Bulletin*,
October, 1952

Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo's *Christ Healing the Blind*, recently added to the Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection, is representative of the early work of the most famous son of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. The painting, signed "Domo Tiepolo fe." and dated 1751, is the undisputed work of Domenico whose paintings are often attributed either to his father or to one of the Tiepolo imitators.

Christ Healing the Blind was painted while the father and son were at work on the fresco decorations in the Archepiscopal Palace at Wurzburg. In the Atheneum's new acquisition, of which there are several versions, one can see the strength of the father's influence in the jagged tracks of the brush, and in the outline drawing of the figures. The "Tiepolo style" was developed by Giovanni Battista. In general it was based on the sumptuous elegance of the sixteenth century Venetian painter Paolo Veronese, but was transformed by Giovanni Battista into the silvery lightness of the rococo. Domenico began in the style of his father, but modified that style through the use of a slightly darker palette and by giving a more sober consideration to his subject matter.

The painting is the work of a young man of twenty-four and is simpler and more traditional in style than the mature works

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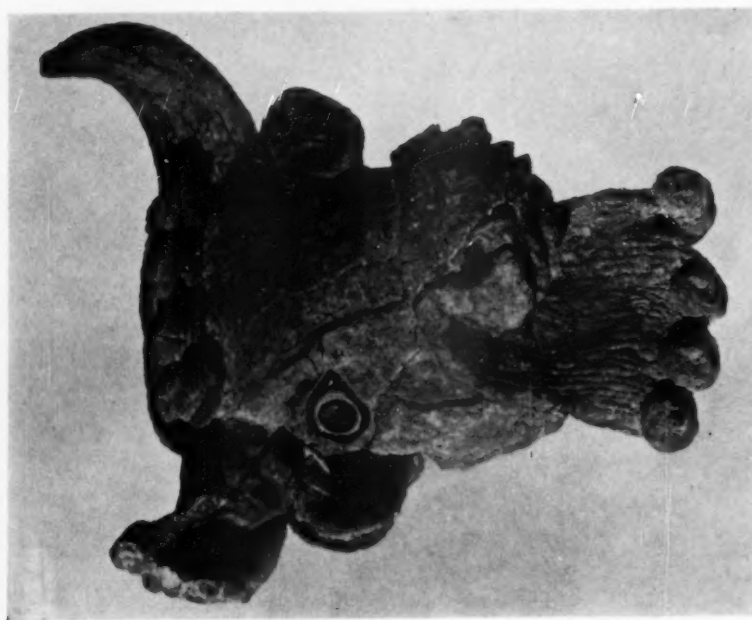
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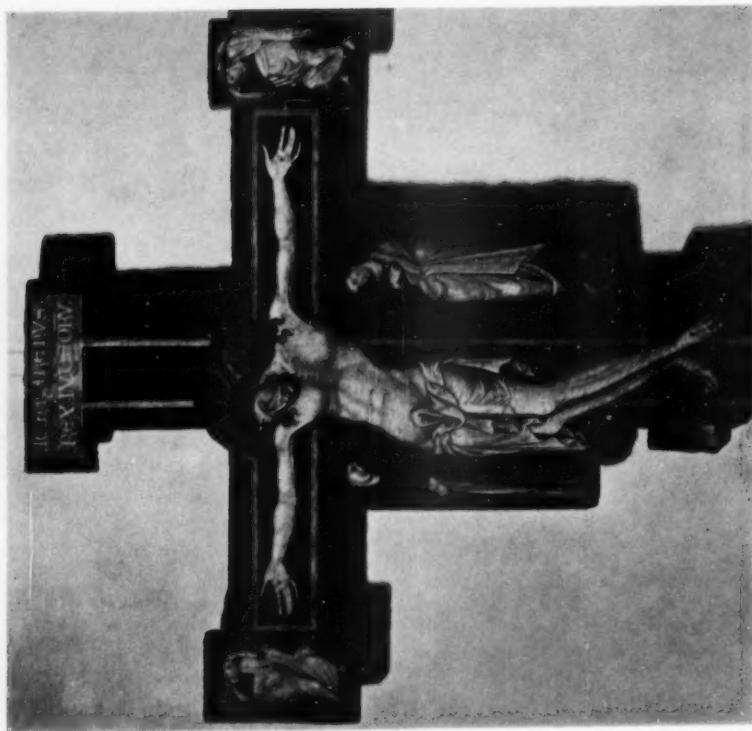
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*Head of a Bearded Bull, Sumerian (H. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ")
The City Art Museum of St. Louis*



*Painted Cross, North Umbrian 13th Century (H. 74")
The Philadelphia Museum of Art*

of the father, but is nonetheless skillful in the adept use of diagonals and arcs which lead the eye to the central figures tying the composition into a compact unit. The use of heavy impasto for its own sake shows Domenico's love of paint, just as the choice of color, the reds, roses, salmon-pinks, blues and yellows played against the brown of the background figures and the greens and grays of the landscape show his command of color.

A SUMERIAN HEAD OF A BEARDED BULL

From an article by Perry T. Rathbone in the City Art Museum of St. Louis *Bulletin*, Volume XXXVII, No. 4, 1952

A magnificent head of a bearded bull has recently been acquired by the Museum as the first gift of the Friends of the City Art Museum. A product of the pre-Bronze Age, it is cast in copper and dates from about 2800 B.C. At that time bronze was undeveloped, for tin (which with copper produces the alloy bronze) was still unknown to the Sumerians.

Long burial in the earth has greatly altered the original appearance of the sculpture. It has brought about the metamorphosis of the copper into copper salt and the corrosion of the metal has forced the right horn out of shape and has cut deep cleavages as well as a network of finer cracks. The tooth of time has likewise destroyed a part of the animal's beard. Its original surface, smooth and mirror-like, is now cracked and roughened, its bright copper color changed to muted green. The eyes of the bull are lapis lazuli and sea shell originally fixed into place with bitumen. The left eyeball of lapis is a replacement and plaster, painted black, has been substituted for the crumbled bitumen. To reinforce and solidify the fragile

metal the restorer has also filled in the deeper furrows and crevices of the head.

According to old reports, the bull's head was found at Larsa on the Euphrates, a site in lower Mesopotamia of great importance in ancient times. But the excavations at this and other Sumerian sites have as yet yielded no conclusive evidence as to the specific use and purpose of copper bulls' heads such as this one. The fact that, while the walls of the cast are thick, the neck is hollow (about 2 inches square and 4 inches deep) leads to the speculation that the head was originally fixed to the body of a bull made of some more perishable substance such as wood or terra cotta over which matching plates of shining copper were fashioned. Yet to us this precious fragment is in itself a complete work of art, and we find it difficult to imagine that the addition of a body could magnify its expression of intense reality and pent-up power. The expression of the beast's dynamic strength abides not only in the staring eyes, but in the taut ears, flaring nostrils and pugnacious muzzle. All of this the ancient sculptor achieved with astonishing simplicity of modeling. His consummate artistry, however, remained to be demonstrated by the addition of a beard. This he integrated with the bull's natural features with such subtlety, such sureness and conviction, that at first one does not question its presence there at all but subconsciously accepts the premise that beards are as natural to bulls as to men.

The bull itself was an animal of some consequence in the life, philosophy and religion of the ancient Sumerians. He was the symbol of fertility, the tutelary sign of concentrated strength, and the visible substance of a landsman's wealth. It is reasonable to assume that our bull guarded a temple, a palace or a throne. Its divinity is made manifest by the beard tied on over the muzzle to emphasize its sacerdotal dignity. The beard in the

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*Jar with Cover, Tz'u-chou ware, Sung Dynasty (H. 47/8")
The Los Angeles County Museum*



*Tripod in shape of bronze Ting, Han Dynasty (H. 6")
The Los Angeles County Museum*

ancient world was a visible symbol of the hieratic position whether priestly or kingly.

Whatever this head of a bearded bull may have meant to the contemporaries of its anonymous metal worker—no Sumerian artist is known to us by name—for us it has the compelling power of great sculpture. So little is as yet known about the ancient Sumerian culture that we are wandering in the dark. But they were the people, probably from mountains to the East, who developed writing, a stable agricultural economy, international trade, banking, the first comprehensive body of literature and works of art of enduring importance. Our bull's head provides us with an avenue of insight into this ancient culture and with a masterpiece of their art.

AN ITALIAN ROMANESQUE CROSS OF THE LATE XIII CENTURY

The Philadelphia Museum recently acquired, as a purchase for the Wilstach collection, the important cross reproduced here. Its iconographical theme is discussed at length by Mr. Henry Clifford in the last issue of that museum's *Bulletin* (Winter, 1953). There the author gives it to the St. Francis Master and the date c. 1280. One of the most impressive examples of its type and one of the few crosses owned in this country, it is apparently the crucifix reproduced (when it was

on the Florence art market, about 1940) by Edward B. Garrison in his excellent *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, under No. 457.

CHINESE CERAMICS AT THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM

The exhibition of Chinese ceramics held in 1952 at the Los Angeles County Museum, too briefly mentioned in *The Art Quarterly* (Summer, 1952), was one of the significant artistic events of the past year. At the close of the exhibition a number of examples lent by dealers were purchased by the Los Angeles Museum. They are of such intrinsic quality that we feel it worthwhile to reproduce two of them in these pages.

The small Tz'u-chou jar with cover (H. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.) is a characteristic Sung work, closely similar to the example from Sir Percival David's collection shown at the 1935 London exhibition; the Han dark-gray pottery tripod shown here, with stylized bird design painted in white and reddish-brown on the body and scrolls in white, red and violet-blue on the cover, is another important addition.



Vishnu
South India 15th Century A.D.

Dakshinamurti Siva
South India 15th Century A.D.



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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

JOHN I. H. BAUR, *Loren MacIver and I. Rice Pereira*. The Macmillan Company, New York, for the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1953. 71 pp., 20 illus., 2 in color. \$3.00.

Mr. Baur's study, which documents an important exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art, has helped us to understand more clearly why the names of MacIver and Pereira have lain so easily together in the mind. It is not only that the lives of these two women have been almost exactly contemporary with each other, but also that each has worked a compelling magic in her art. There is no magic in anything that does not transport us to levels which would otherwise be strange and remote. After nature itself, the most wonderful thing to see is the personal world of a painter through whose work the natural wonders have taken new and vivid form. There is a marked dissimilarity in the visual organization and development of a MacIver picture and one by Pereira, yet in each we may have felt the impact of a lost vision regained or a dulled perception sharpened.

MacIver's concepts have preserved the rapt concentration of which few other than children are capable. Her paintings reflect the same kind of strength and integrity that is in the vision of children. One may not have thought of MacIver's early work as a "shy, tiptoe art" (a phrase of Mr. James Soby's quoted in Mr. Baur's book), but as the results of a period in which the view was narrow and the range limited, each work a firm step towards a wider vision and

more brilliant expression. Her art is not urgent and forceful but intimate, even when the scale is large—she paints simply because she finds it pleasant to do so—and it is here that its contrast with the art of Pereira is most striking.

Pereira's painting is direct and clear. She is one of the foremost of American abstract painters and is often spoken of as an eminent experimenter in materials and methods. She is surely that, but it is perhaps more important to discover in this study of her work the enormous concentration of her struggle with the representation and more direct use in painting of the natural phenomenon of light. The urgency of this struggle is apparent in the facts of her life as well as in her painting.

Far from divorcing herself from nature, she has dealt with one of its greatest manifestations, and one with which painters have long been concerned. In a process of theory and trial she has adapted the Cosmos, it seems, to her rectangular panels and panes; MacIver has shown a microcosm of life, sensitively observed and captured, to be universally significant.

Although it is perhaps not really possible to compare the work of MacIver and Pereira it is interesting and instructive to see it juxtaposed like this. The book also provides useful technical information, bibliographies and splendidly selected illustrations of the work of each artist in which the development traced in the text is clearly evident.

A. F. PAGE



One of the pair of silk
Kakemono paintings by
Sosen — 1747-1821

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HUNTINGTON CAIRNS and JOHN WALKER, editors, *Great Paintings from The National Gallery of Art*. The Macmillan Company, New York, and The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., 1952.

What a superb gesture! In 1944 The National Gallery brought out a volume of 85 color plates of its paintings, called *Masterpieces of Painting*. The same authors have collaborated to produce this second volume eight years after. If one picks it up expecting a revised and enlarged edition of the 1944 volume, he underestimates the magnitude of the gifts to The National Gallery and the rapidity of its growth. These are 85 new works, not duplications. Thanks to Mr. Mellon, Mr. Kress, Mr. Chester Dale, Mr. Widener, the Avalon Foundation and other donors, there is more than plenty to fill a new volume on the same level as the first. Mr. Cairns, as before, contributes a text consisting of quotations wisely culled from artists' letters, poetry, essays or criticism. Urbane, varied, brief, these slices of sensibility and imagination sandwiched between the color plates form one of the real pleasures of taste afforded by the book. Mr. Walker, as before, contributes brief, modest factual notes upon the pictures for the information of the scholar. May we expect a third volume in a few years time?

The Phillips Collection, Washington, D. C. Produced by Thames and Hudson, New York and London; printed by Jarrold and Sons, Ltd., Norwich, 1952.

There is no museum anywhere comparable to the Phillips Collection in Washington. The "museum" itself is a private house, not especially distinguished in its architecture, where the visitor, alone most of the time, wanders through smallish rooms decorated in the style of the 1920's. As Mr. Phillips himself concedes, such a setting is most inappropriate for what is really "a museum of Modern Art and its Sources." There is nothing dramatic or bold in the presentation—most rooms look like the Parisian dining-rooms or salons in which Bonnard and Vuillard painted their cultured *petits bourgeois*. But with all its apparent conservatism, this "intimately personal" museum, as Mr. Phillips calls it with quiet pride, has been one of the most progressive and most useful art institutions in the United States. It lends its most precious possessions with more generosity and understanding than any other museum. Without fanfare or pedantry it holds numberless temporary exhibitions of excellent quality, on a refreshing human scale. And, as is shown by the second section of the present catalogue, it purchases the works of many artists who have not yet arrived and of some who may never attain much reputation. On the part of the founders of the Phillips Collection, such a policy shows courage, kindness and faith.

The permanent collection with which this catalogue is more directly concerned is even more worthy of admiration. It includes, it is true, only four Picassos, only two Matisse's. But the Cézannes, the Braques, the series of works by Degas, and of course the Renoir *Déjeuner des Canotiers* and his sanguine of *The Judgment of Paris*, the Daumier *Uprising* and the *Paganini* by Delacroix, are works of art without which this country would be the poorer. These we have a tendency to take for granted. But from the art critic's point of view the Collection is also a mine of little-known material, with problem pictures and minor but significant works by important figures. Surely there is much to be discussed about the Watteau *Musicians* (sanguine); the panel attribu-

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BENIN, Figure plaque, Bronze 16th Century Reproduced in *ANTIQUITIES from BENIN in the BRITISH MUSEUM*, Plate XV, No. 6 and in *F. LUSCHAN'S ALTERTHUMER von BENIN*, No. 164

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ted to Giorgione; the Salvator Rosa; and the works by American painters of the 1910's and 1920's in particular, many of whom are in eclipse now, will prove useful to future historians.

The catalogue itself, with more than 300 illustrations ranging from a drawing by Guardi to large canvases by Ernest Lawson, Fauve Derains and I. Rice Pereira, is at the same time a monument to the taste of its founders and a history of modern art, with its great men and its failures.

Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery—A Handbook of the Collection. Baroda, 1952.

Too little is known in this country about the museums of India. The present *Handbook* of the Baroda Museum collections is therefore welcome. Founded in 1887 with various objects presented by the Maharaja, it is today a museum of both European and Asiatic art. Of the European collections there is little to say. A cassone front by Schiavone, a *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* given to Salvator Rosa, a few minor Italian and Dutch masters are illustrated, looking quite *dépaysés*. Logically the Indian section is the most representative, and to us in the United States the most impressive. The sculpture in particular is worthy of attention. There are few outstanding pieces such as we find in Cleveland, Boston or Kansas City, it is true, but there is a large number of study pieces (many adequately reproduced) which are excellent comparison material, such as the Donor group from Paliyad near Kalol, dated A.D. 1282, and a series of sculptural elements, badly weathered unfortunately, from Devni Mori. We should also mention a very large hoard (some 150 pieces) of Jain bronze images found last year near Baroda, which includes excellent examples of the sixth and seventh centuries (only a few of these are reproduced). On the other hand there are about thirty illustrations of miniatures, including a fascinating group of Gujarat paintings. When one realizes the difficulties involved in publishing such a catalogue the curatorial staff of the Baroda Museum deserves greatly to be congratulated. What a mine of information a series of such catalogues of Indian museums would be for the American scholar!

East-West. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, University of Toronto, 1952.

This is an excellent publication on a fascinating subject—the artistic influence of the East on the West, an influence which, as Mr. Brett says, is "Protean in form and variety." It is basically an exhibition catalogue, with very complete descriptions of every object. But on account of the various essays written by the Toronto curators it forms also an excellent synthesis on the subject. Mr. Brett's introduction serves as historical background, while the scholarly and at the same time delightful sections devoted to Oriental ceramics and their influence upon Europe, or to Eastern and Western textiles, are résumés of permanent value. The booklet is illustrated with a series of instructive illustrations.

RUDOLFO SIVIERO, *Second National Exhibition of the Works of Art Recovered in Germany.* Florence, Sansoni, 1950.

This handsomely produced volume illustrates, with many details, a group of works of art illegally sold or given from Italian ownership to high ranking Nazis from 1937 onward, recovered after the war by the Office for the Recovery of

Works of Art and now the property of the Italian government.

The most important of these are the *Discobolus* from the Lancellotti palace (discovered on the Esquiline in 1781), an irreplaceable document for the head especially; a *Madonna and Child* published by Longhi in *Paragone*, May, 1950, as by Masaccio; the Memling portrait from the Corsini Gallery, Florence; the famous version of Leonardo's *Leda*, formerly in the Spiridon collection; the eight panels of the altarpiece executed by Hans Multscher in 1458-1459 for the parish church of Vipiteno, and two by another hand, which were removed from the Museo Civico at Vipiteno in 1941 as a gift from Mussolini to Goering; an important picture of *St. Cecilia* by Bernardo Cavallino; the equestrian portrait of a Doria prince painted by Rubens in Genoa about 1606, formerly in the Casa Doria d'Angri, Naples; a pair of *capricci* by Canaletto; a pair of Strozzi's (of one of which, *St. Catherine*, another version is in Hartford); an early *Leda* by Tintoretto; a portrait by Coello; a Fontainebleau picture of some interest; and a variety of minor works.

The author is a resistance fighter who became chairman after the war of the Office for the Recovery of Works of Art. He tells a lively story of his fight to recover these works of art, sprinkling it with frank, often sarcastic and amusing comments on the various people involved, among whom are a number of American officials and Monuments officers. It is evident that Siviero is a good fighter and that he has done his country service.

J. BYAM SHAW, *The Drawings of Francesco Guardi*. London, Faber and Faber, 1951. 86 pp., 79 pls. 27s.6d.

This volume is another valuable addition to the distinguished series of books on drawings published under the editorship of K. T. Parker. We have already mentioned in these pages the volume on Tudor and Stuart drawings by John Woodward. In the present work Mr. J. Byam Shaw attacks—for the first time in English since Simonson's book (1904)—the very difficult problem presented by the activities of the Guardi's. A mature work, which assumes that the reader has already a familiarity with the subject, it is an extremely important contribution to the history of Venetian art of the Settecento. It supplements, completes, and at times corrects (with great courtesy and understanding, it should be added) Pallucchini's work on the Guardi drawings at the Museo Correr; in the main it uses the Italian scholar's classification according to the subject, thus adding to the usefulness of both volumes. That Mr. Shaw's catalogue does not duplicate the Pallucchini *Guardi's Zeichnungen* is due in part to the fact that it draws its material mostly from English and American sources, and in part of course to the writer's personal approach.

None of the problems connected with Guardi's *oeuvre* has been avoided. Guardi's probable stay in Canaletto's studio is discussed at length; Mr. Shaw places it very late, "at some period between 1755 and 1768" (when Guardi was in his forties or older), presenting as evidence topographical details of drawings in Guardi's less familiar, Canalettesque style. The chronology of Guardi's drawings is studied next by Mr. Shaw, thoroughly and without relying upon intuitive judgments. The "familiar Guardi idiom," says the author, appears about 1765. It was preceded by the great majority of the "histories" and by a group of drawings (ten of which are reproduced, pls. 10-19) executed under Canaletto's influence; about this latter group the last word has



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not been said. For the later, more characteristic works, the evidence of fashions datable within half a decade is convincingly introduced, we believe for the first time. For the past twenty-five years, ever since Fiocco and Lapauze presented it, the most difficult, and most important, Guardiesque problem has been that of Francesco's artistic relationship to his family. Nicolò Guardi, in the last analysis, must remain "a shadow in the background of the Guardi studio," although Pallucchini and Fiocco have attributed to him some at least of the Canalettesque drawings. Giacomo Guardi, Francesco's younger son, with his "feeble Guardiesque style," is also studied at great length, a useful and convincing section of the volume. The Antonio-Francesco relationship is of course given still more space; it remains the most fluid, controversial and fascinating aspect of the question, with new material introduced every year—almost every month—reversals of opinion and misleading "evidence" (such as the Francesco signature on one of the Sarasota *Allegories* which has recently been proven spurious). Although Mr. Shaw belongs to what Antonio Morassi calls the "panfranceschiana" group, he remains as objective as is possible in such a problem, and it is tempting to agree with him when he states in his book (and emphasizes still more recently in his review of Dr. De Maffei's *Gian Antonio Guardi, pittore de figura*, in the *Burlington Magazine*, October, 1952) that the most rational solution is to be found by supposing an extensive system of collaboration in the Guardi workshop. Finally, the question of forgeries is, as it should be, discussed as a warning. Mr. Shaw even reproducing a good example—by no means an isolated case!—of such forgeries.

Mr. Shaw published his book, I believe, late in 1951. Since then a number of articles and at least one book (Miss

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De Maffei's) have been published, and several exhibitions have taken place. Perhaps the most important of the contributions, though its conclusions have not been accepted by the partisans of the "panfranceschiana," is Dr. Morassi's article in *Emporium* (November, 1951), which reproduced a number of paintings connected with early drawings discussed by the English critic. There the "sketch for an altarpiece" (Ashmolean Museum) is given without restriction to Antonio with a large reproduction of the finished altar (at Cerete Basso). Figure 23 in Morassi's article presents more than a passing analogy with plate 4 of Shaw's volume, the drawing of the Virgin in the Zwicky collection. The valuable catalogue, unfortunately without illustrations, of an exhibition of *Tiepolo et Guardi dans les collections françaises*, at the Cailleux Gallery in November, 1952, supplements the information furnished by Mr. Shaw on the *Ridotto* by Antonio Guardi, for which an important drawing exists at the Art Institute of Chicago. Doubtless, if M. Cailleux publishes a *supplément illustré* more elements of comparison will be found, for instance in regard to No. 69 of the Shaw catalogue, a "Lagoon Capriccio with an obelisk" in the Kramarsky collection.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the present volume, which in addition to its scholarly quality is well printed and well presented. Concise, objective, splendidly documented, it is a work of permanent value. A number of additions will be made to it. The present reviewer may mention here, for instance, in connection with No. 23 (*S. Cristoforo di Murano*) that a small painting exhibited in the 1952 Detroit exhibition (cat. No. 31) seems to be far closer to the drawing in many details, buildings, even shadows, than the Budapest Gallery picture mentioned by Mr. Shaw. No.

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69 of the Shaw catalogue, already referred to in connection with the Cailleux exhibition, has a very close parallel in a painting from the Heldring collection sold at Mensing's, May 15, 1934 (No. 8). The similar view mentioned by Shaw as being in the A. de Rothschild collection in 1911 was apparently with its pendant in the Speyer sale, Parke-Bernet, April 11, 1942 (No. 77).

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